DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 448 110 SO 032 369

AUTHOR	Cunningham, Paul
TITLE	Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: The Colonial Experience in the Congo. Teacher's Resource Book [and Student Text]. Public Policy Debate in the Classroom. Choices for the 21st Century Education Project.
INSTITUTION	Brown Univ., Providence, RI. Thomas J. Watson, Jr. Inst. for International Studies.
ISBN	ISBN-1-891306-34-0
PUB DATE	2000-10-00
NOTE	105p.; Cover title varies.
AVAILABLE FROM	Choices for the 21st Century Education Project, Watson Institute for International Studies, Box 1948, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912 ($15.00 per teacher/student book set); Tel: 401-863-3155; Fax: 401-863-1247; E-mail: (choices@brown.edu); Web site: http://www.choices.edu.
PUB TYPE	Guides - Classroom - Teacher (052)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*African History; Area Studies; *Colonialism; Developing Nations; *European History; Foreign Countries; Global Education; Indigenous Populations; *International Relations; *Political Issues; Primary Sources; Role Playing; Secondary Education; Social Studies
IDENTIFIERS	Africa (Central); *Congo Free State

ABSTRACT

This teacher resource book and student text is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues, placing special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens. The unit draws students into the international debate about how to respond to the imperialism that brutally disfigured the Congo in the late-19th and early-20th centuries. After examining the nature of pre-colonial central African societies, students use primary and secondary readings to develop an understanding of how European power politics contributed to one of the most shocking examples of European colonization in Africa. While the history of the Congo Free State, later the Belgian Congo, is atypical of European imperialism of this era, this unit confronts students with a dramatic story that provides the foundation for assessing the moral, political, cultural, and economic issues raised by colonialism in general. This unit examines the roles played by private citizens in mobilizing a grassroots human rights movement. Students have the opportunity to evaluate the effectiveness of both governmental and non-governmental actors in effecting changes in official policies. Materials are included to help students understand how the colonial experience has shaped events in the Congo Basin throughout the post-colonial era. The teacher's book includes five- and three-day lesson plans. (BT)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 448 110

Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce:
The Colonial Experience in the Congo.
Teacher's Resource Book
[and Student Text]
Public Policy Debate in the Classroom
Choices for the
21st Century Education Project

Paul Cunningham

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

✓ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE, AND IN ELECTRONIC MEDIA FOR ERIC COLLECTION SUBSCRIBERS ONLY, HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

S. Graseck

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

2A

SO 032 369

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

Teacher's Resource Book

Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: Colonialism in the Congo

GREAT
CONGO DEMONSTRATION.
ROYAL ALBERT HALL
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

PUBLIC POLICY DEBATE IN THE CLASSROOM

Choices for the 21st Century Education Project

A program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr.
Institute for International Studies

Brown University

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: Colonialism in the Congo was developed by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project with the assistance of the research staff of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, scholars at Brown University, and other experts in the field. We wish to thank the following researchers for their invaluable input:

L. Perry Curtis, *Professor of History*
Brown University

Nancy Jacobs, *Assistant Professor of History*
Brown University

Peter Uvin, *Henry Leir Chair of International Humanitarian Studies*
Fletcher School of Law and Dipolmacy, Tufts University

Adam Hochschild's book, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa,* provided much of the intellectual inspiration for this unit.

To Michael Barton of Kingsboro, Massachusetts, Patricia Clancy of Vernon, New Jersey, and Ron Levitsky of Northfield, Illinois, we extend our appreciation for helping us to revise the format of Choices units to make them responsive to a wider variety of student learning styles.

Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: Colonialism in the Congo is one of a series of units that applies the choices approach to critical junctures in history. The Choices Education Project also publish an ongoing series on current foreign policy issues. New units are published each academic year, and all units are updated regularly.

Visit us on the World Wide Web —
http://www.choices.edu

CHOICES

for the 21st Century
Education Project
October 2000

Director
Susan Graseck

Curriculum Developer
Andy Blackadar

Coordinator of
Public Programs
Megan Secatore

Professional Development
Coordinator
Lucy Mueller

Staff Associate
Anne Campau Prout

Office Assistant
Cynthia Manzotti

Unit Author
Paul Cunningham

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University.

Thomas J. Biersteker
Director, Watson Institute for International Studies

SUGGESTED FIVE-DAY LESSON PLAN

About the Choices Approach ii

Note to Teachers 1

Integrating This Unit into Your Classroom 2

DAY ONE — Pre-Colonial Central African Culture 3

Homework (before Day One): Part I of the background reading and "Study Guide — Part I"
Homework: Part II of the background reading and "Study Guide — Part II"

DAY TWO — The European Conquest 9

DAY THREE — The Reality of the Congo Free State 17

Homework (before the lesson): Part III of the background Reading and "Study Guide—Part III"

DAY FOUR — Role Playing the Three Options: Organization and Preparation 21

Homework: Complete Preparations for the Role Play

DAY FIVE — Role Playing the Three Options: Debate and Discussion 25

Homework: "Epilogue" and Optional "Individuals of Conscience"

OPTIONAL LESSON — Epilogue and Individuals of Conscience 27

Key Terms 31

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom 33

Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan 37

THE CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY EDUCATION PROJECT is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University. CHOICES was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgment on policy priorities.

THE THOMAS J. WATSON JR. INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES was established at Brown University in 1986 to serve as a forum for students, faculty, visiting scholars, and policy practitioners, who are committed to studying global problems and developing international initiatives to benefit society.

© Copyright October 2000. 1st Edition. Choices for the 21st Century Education Project. All rights reserved. Permission is granted to duplicate and distribute for classroom use with appropriate credit given. Duplicates may not be resold. Single units (consisting of a student text and a teacher's resource book) are available for $15 each. Classroom sets (15 or more student texts) may be ordered at $7 per copy. A teacher's resource book is included free with each classroom set. Orders should be addressed to: Choices Education Project, Watson Institute for International Studies, Box 1948, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912. Please see the order form in the back of this unit or visit our website at <http://www.choices.edu>. ISBN1-891306-34-0-TRB

About the Choices Approach

Choices for the 21st Century curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using an innovative approach to student-centered instruction, Choices units develop critical thinking and civic judgment — essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Understanding the Significance of History: Each Choices unit provides students with a thorough introduction to the topic under consideration. Students gain an understanding of the historical background and the status of current issues. In this way, they see how history has shaped our world. With this foundation, students are prepared to thoughtfully consider a variety of perspectives on public policy.

Exploring Policy Alternatives: Each Choices unit is built around a framework of alternative policy options that challenges students to consider multiple perspectives and to think critically about the issue at hand. Students are best able to understand and analyze the options through a cooperative learning/role-play activity. In groups, students explore their assigned options and plan short presentations. The setting of the role-play may be a Congressional hearing, meeting of the National Security Council, or an election campaign forum. Student groups defend their policy options and, in turn, are challenged with questions from their classmates. The ensuing debate demands analysis and evaluation of the many conflicting values, interests, and priorities reflected in the options.

Exercising Civic Judgment: Armed with fresh insights from the role-play and debate, students are challenged to articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values, priorities, and goals as individuals and citizens. Students' views can be expressed in letters to Congress or the White House, editorials for the school or community newspaper, persuasive speeches, or visual presentations.

Why Use the Choices Approach? Choices curricula are informed by current educational research about how students learn best. Studies have consistently demonstrated that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material rather than listening passively to a lecture. Student-centered instructional activities motivate students and develop higher-order thinking skills. However, some high school educators find the transition from lecture format to student-centered instruction difficult. Lecture is often viewed as the most efficient way to cover the required material. Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, persuasive writing, and informed citizenship. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies. Each Choices unit includes student readings, a framework of policy options, suggested lesson plans, and resources for structuring cooperative learning, role-plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives on an issue
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- engage in informed debate
- identify and weigh the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- reflect upon personal values and priorities surrounding an issue
- develop and articulate original viewpoints on an issue
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Teachers who use Choices units say the collaboration and interaction that take place are highly motivating for students. Opportunities abound for students to contribute their individual talents to the group presentations in the form of political cartoons, slogans, posters, or characterizations. These cooperative learning lessons invite students to take pride in their own contributions and the group product, enhancing students' self-esteem and confidence as learners. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Note to Teachers

In the first decade of the twentieth century, again in the 1960s, and then as the world passed from the twentieth to twenty-first centuries, conflict in the Central African region of the Congo became the focus of global concern. This region, the site of so much violence and chaos throughout the twentieth century, still suffers today. *Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: The Colonial Experience in the Congo* helps students explore the history of European imperialism in the Congo. Along the way, students explore pre-European Congolese culture and what the historian Thomas Pakenham has called "The Scramble for Africa." The unit also includes the stories of individuals who helped change the course of history, and of the organizations they created that influenced the decisions of governments.

In this unit, students participate in the international debate about the future of what was then called the Congo Free State. The debate raises questions that are relevant to decision-makers today: Do all people everywhere have the same basic human rights? When should citizens and governments of one country be concerned about people in other countries? When is it acceptable for people to control other people? How should we balance issues of economics and morality when making decisions?

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan: The Teacher's Resource Book accompanying *Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: The Colonial Experience in the Congo* contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. An optional lesson includes materials on three "Individuals of Conscience." You may also find the "Alternative Three Day Lesson Plan" helpful.

- **Alternative Study Guides:** Each section of background reading is accompanied by two distinct study guides. The standard study guide is designed to help students harvest the information provided in the background readings in preparation for analysis and synthesis within classroom activities. The advanced study guide requires analysis and synthesis prior to class activities.

- **Vocabulary and Concepts:** The background reading in *Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: The Colonial Experience in the Congo* addresses subjects that are complex and challenging. To help your students get the most out of the text, you may want to review with them "Key Terms" found in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB) on page TRB-31 before they begin their assignment. An "Issues Toolbox" is also included on page TRB-32. This provides additional information on key concepts of particular importance to understanding the unit.

The lesson plans offered in *Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: The Colonial Experience in the Congo* are provided as a guide. They are designed for traditional class periods of approximately 50 minutes. Those on block schedules will need to make adaptations. Many teachers choose to devote additional time to certain activities. We hope that these suggestions help you in tailoring the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating This Unit into Your Curriculum

Units produced by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project are designed to be integrated into a variety of social studies courses. Below are a few ideas about where *Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: The Colonial Experience in the Congo* might fit in the social studies curriculum.

World History: Students studying the pre-colonial African civilizations often focus on the great kingdoms of the West African Savannas, Great Zimbabwe or the Swahili city-states of East Africa. Following a study of these civilizations, it might be helpful to examine the fate of this large region at the heart of the continent. This unit examines the status of these societies before and after the arrival of Europeans. Students can analyze the effects of the contacts with outsiders.

The history of nineteenth century imperialism often focuses on well-known examples such as Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa, and India. The Congo Free State can be used to compare and contrast with these cases, and as a means of studying the forces in European society that were creating the pressure for colonization.

In the study of the twentieth century, the drama of decolonization in the post-World War II era is often examined. This unit vividly portrays the abuses that sometimes took place under European rule. By coming face to face with some of the worst abuses, students can understand why the citizens of much of the colonial world were so impatient in their demands for an end to colonial rule.

Modern European History: Students studying nineteenth century imperialism from the European perspective can gain insight into how European policies affected the lives of people in the colonies.

A study of the Great Power politics of Europe is not complete without addressing colonization. The founding of the Congo Free State, the British campaign against it, and the nature of the new Belgian Congo all reflect the manner in which Great Power politics in Europe had far-reaching consequences beyond that continent.

While studying the spread of democracy and electoral reform in Western Europe, and especially in Britain, students must examine how the voices of newly enfranchised citizens affected political debate. The story of the Congo Reform Association demonstrates the power of a grassroots movement to effect change. The manner in which this organization spread its influence across Europe and North America also testifies to the changing communication structure of the time and the rise of a global community.

Sociology or Government: The diverse peoples of the Congo reacted differently to the social change caused by the arrival of the Europeans. Through studying pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial eras of Congolese history, students can trace the ways social structures and values change over time in reaction to external and internal pressures. Much of the drama associated with the Congo Free State revolves around the role played by individuals or organizations. This unit helps students consider the importance of one citizen in creating change. It emphasizes the importance of individuals concerned about their government's exercise of power that may affect the lives of people in other countries.

International Relations: The Congo Reform Association is an early example of an international human rights movement. In the late twentieth century concerns about human rights became a major element of international relations. This unit can be used to examine the roots of some of the today's international movements. Students can compare the methods and mission of the Congo Reform Association with those of human rights groups today. The connection between trade and human rights is very much an issue of debate today. The experience of the Congo Free State demonstrates that this debate is not a new one. Students can examine how the people of the Congo interacted with a rapidly globalizing economy at the turn of the century.

Understanding Pre-Colonial Central Africa

Objectives:

Students will:

- Understand how historians use various sources to understand a time period.
- Use primary source materials to develop a clearer understanding of pre-colonial Congolese societies.
- Identify values expressed in primary source materials.
- Compare African cultures to American culture.
- Consider how African values interacted with European values.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part I of the background reading in the student text (pages 1-6) and completed "Study Guide—Part I" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB 6-7) or the "Advanced Study Guide—Part I" (TRB-8).

Handouts:

- "Proverbs of the Congo" (TRB 4-5)

In the Classroom:

1. *Understanding Proverbs*— Define proverb for students. One definition is "a short saying in common use expressing a well-known truth or common fact learned by experience or observation." Point out that often a profound truth is hidden beneath what may at first seem like a silly or frivolous expression. Share one of your own favorite proverbs and explain what it means to you. Ask one or two students to do the same. Explain that historians use a variety of sources to gather information about cultures, and that proverbs can be a rich source for understanding the values of a culture. In all cultures, proverbs are often rooted in folklore and are a way of preserving oral traditions.

2. *Forming Small Groups* — Divide the class into groups of three or four students. Distribute "Proverbs of the Congo" to each group. Review the directions together as a class.

3. *Sharing Conclusions* — After the groups have completed the activity, call on students to share all three types of information required in the activity.

4. *Predicting Outcomes* — Ask students to predict how Africans and Europeans will at times find their values come into conflict and at other times find they share common values.

Homework:

Students should read Part II of the background reading in the student text (pages 7-12) and complete "Study Guide—Part II" (TRB 14-15) or the "Advanced Study Guide—Part II" (TRB-16).

Proverbs of the Congo

Directions: Proverbs are concise sayings that are used to convey the values of a culture. Proverbs often use symbolism or language from one aspect of life to give advice that can be applied more generally (For instance: "A stitch in time saves nine" is not just a proverb that applies to people who are mending clothing). Most of the proverbs below come from the Mongo people of the inner Congo basin, but some come from other ethnic groups of the Congo. Read each of the proverbs. After reading all of the proverbs: on a separate sheet of paper, make some general observations about what you can tell about Congo cultures and lifestyles (for example, what can you learn about the environment? Types of jobs? etc.). What statements can you make about the values of these societies? What is important to them? What sorts of lessons do they try to teach through these proverbs? Think of proverbs or sayings within your own culture and write them down. Do the values expressed in the Congolese proverbs match the values expressed in the proverbs of your own culture? How are they different?

1. Glory is found in the family.

2. The older one is, the greater the respect reserved for him.

3. The forest is a relic of the ancestors; it stays with the family.

4. For each beast that is killed, there is a man to eat its liver.

5. The health of a banana is found in its leaves as that of the family is in its members.

6. Wealth is not eternal. It is able to be lost.

7. Those who are wives belong to their husbands; those who are single belong to their fathers.

8. A well-educated youth needs only one order.

9. It is the young who want war and the old who yearn for peace.

10. A rich man gains from his generosity.

11. A mistreated woman will drown her husband in tears.

12. If you are married, don't lose touch with your own family.

13. Help received today is returned tomorrow.

14. The young cannot teach tradition to the old.

15. The fish does not reject its water; man must follow the family.

16. An action repeated has a motive of interest.

17. Before judging others, judge yourself.

18. Firewood burns as long as it is not wet; a good man triumphs only when he is just.

19. It is better to hunger than to steal.

20. Peace is preferable to war.

21. To keep the peace, prevent arguments.

22. To keep the peace, one must sometimes do battle.

23. Peace is preferable to the rich.

24. All are equal in the eyes of the ancestors.

25. The leader sounds the horn during the hunt on his land; he receives the tusks, captives and royal beasts. He is entitled to a tribute from our hunting and farming.

Most of these proverbs can be found in *Colonialism in the Congo Basin,1880-1940* by Samuel H. Nelson, 1994, Ohio University Center for International Studies.

Study Guide — Part I Pre-Colonial Central African Culture

1. Why is it hard to make generalizations about life in the Congo before the Europeans arrived?

2. List three generalizations that can be made about life in the Congo before the Europeans arrived.

   a.

   b.

   c.

3. Why were the Kongo the first ethnic group of the region to have contact with the Europeans?

4. List specific characteristics of the Kongo and Mongo cultures for each of the following categories in the chart below.

	Kongo	Mongo
Government		
Family life		
Roles of women		
Economic system		
Foreign relations		

5. Why was the interior of the Congo River Basin one of the last regions in Africa to be explored by Europeans?

6. How were the people of the Congo interior influenced by Europeans before the 1880s?

7. List three ways that the tran-Atlantic slave trade differed from the traditional forms of slavery found in the Congo.

a.

b.

c.

8. How was King Affonso both helped and harmed by the trans-Atlantic slave trade?

9. How was life in the Congo affected by the end of the trans-Atlantic slave trade?

Advanced Study Guide:Part I Pre-Colonial Central African Culture

1. Provide at least four pieces of evidence from throughout this section of reading to prove that the various peoples of the Congo were enthusiastic traders.

2. What do you consider to be some of the most important differences between the cultures of the Kongo and the Mongo? Give reasons for your choices.

3. Other than the slave trade, how did the arrival of Europeans change traditional ways of life in the Congo?

4. Would the Europeans have been able to develop the trans-Atlantic slave trade without the cooperation of some Africans? Explain your answer.

5. Imagine you are the king of Portugal and you have received King Affonso's letter. Summarize three key ideas you might have included in your reply back to him.

The Geography of Africa and the Arrival of the Europeans

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze maps to draw conclusions about the effect of geography on the expansion of the Europeans in Africa.
- Compare and contrast different maps to make connections over time.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part II of the background reading in the student text (pages 7-12) and completed "Study Guide—Part II" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB 14-15) or the "Advanced Study Guide—Part II" (TRB-16).

Handouts:

- "Map Analysis Questions" (TRB 10-11)
- Maps: Africa in 1876 and 1914 (TRB 12-13)

In the Classroom:

1. *Establishing Background*— Ask students to think about Parts I and II of the student text. Have them generate as a class a short list of examples of how events in Europe influenced African history.

2. *Map Analysis* — Explain to students that they will be using maps to examine the nature of European expansion in Africa. Put students in groups of two or three and hand out the "Map Analysis Questions."

3. *Sharing Conclusions* — After students have finished the activity, review some of the answers.

Homework:

Students should read "Part III: The Reality of the Congo Free State" in the student text (pages 13-20) and complete either "Study Guide—Part III" (TRB 18-19) or "Advanced Study Guide Part III" (TRB-20).

Map Analysis Questions

Directions: The numbers inside the parentheses before each question indicate which map(s) are necessary to answer the question. Look carefully at the maps before answering each question.

1. (1876) List the five indigenous powers that appear to have the largest territories as of 1876. (Recall that indigenous powers means the powers that were in Africa before outsiders took over)

2. (1876) As of 1876, which outside power controlled the largest territory?

3. (1876) What do the European territories have in common in terms of their geographic location?

4. (1876) Which two European countries control territory closest to the Congo River?

5. (1876) Of the three European countries with large land-holdings in Africa, which one was not considered to be a Great Power of the 19th century?

6. (1914) Which two powers have the largest colonial territories as of 1914?

7. (1876/1914) Which country took over the largest amount of land from the alien power that held the largest amount of territory in 1876?

8. (1914) The British were interested in building a Cape-to-Cairo railroad South Africa to Egypt. Which two colonies block their ability to do so?

9. (1876/1914) The Sokoto Caliphate got divided between which three alien powers?

9a. How might such a division have made it easier for Europeans to govern Africans?

9b. How might such a division have made it more difficult for Europeans to govern Africans?

10. (1876/1914) Which Portuguese colony expanded the most between these two dates?

11. (1876/1914) Which European country eventually controlled the indigenous power of Katanga?

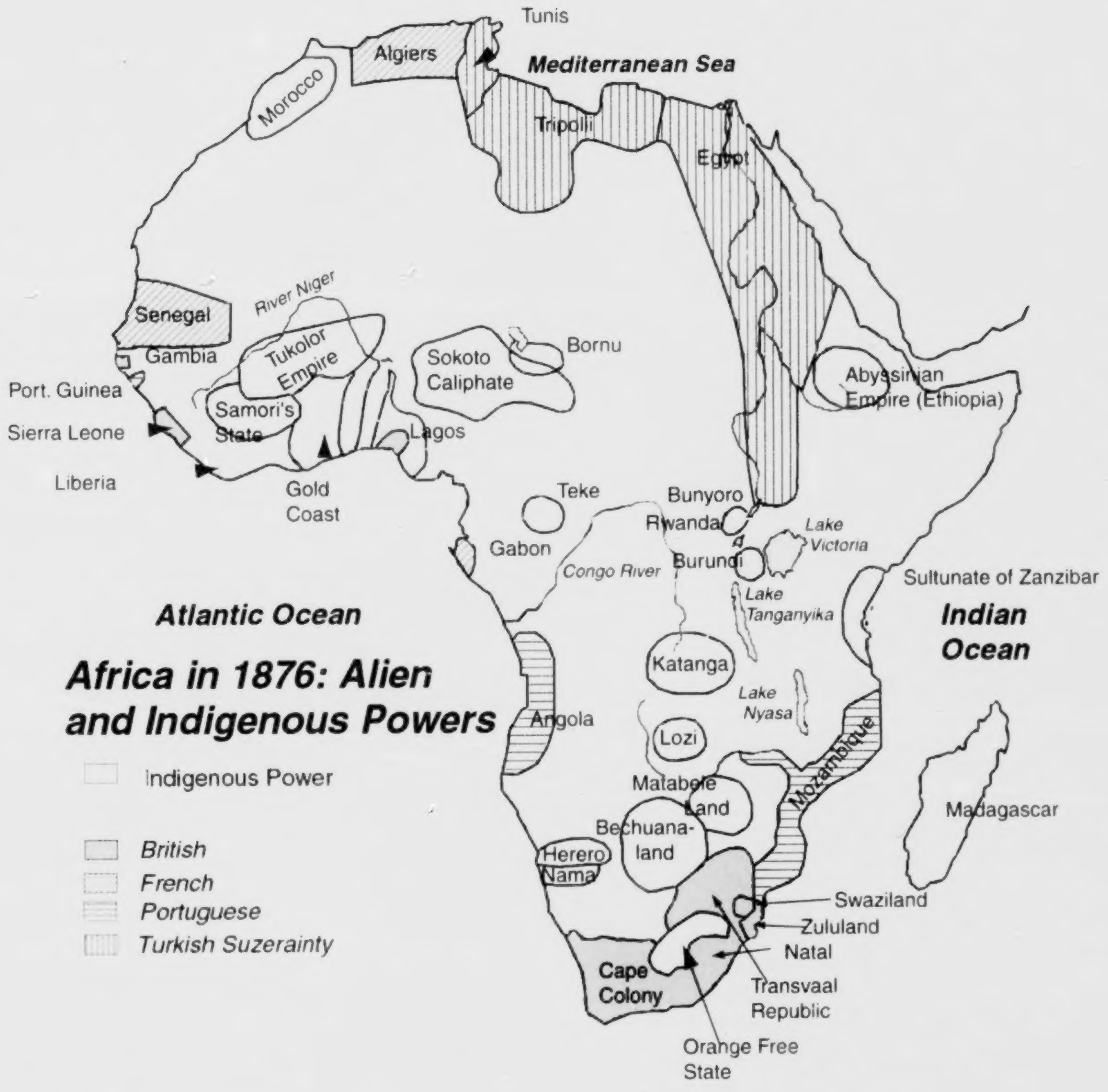
12. (1876/1914) Name two British colonies that took their names from the indigenous power that had previously existed in the same region?

13. (1914) List all of the colonies that surround the Belgian Congo. Include in parentheses the name of the European power that controlled each.

14. (1876/1914) Of the indigenous powers indicated in 1876, which is the only one to still be self-governing in 1914?

15. (1914) Of the six Great Powers of Europe, which two did not hold any African colonies?

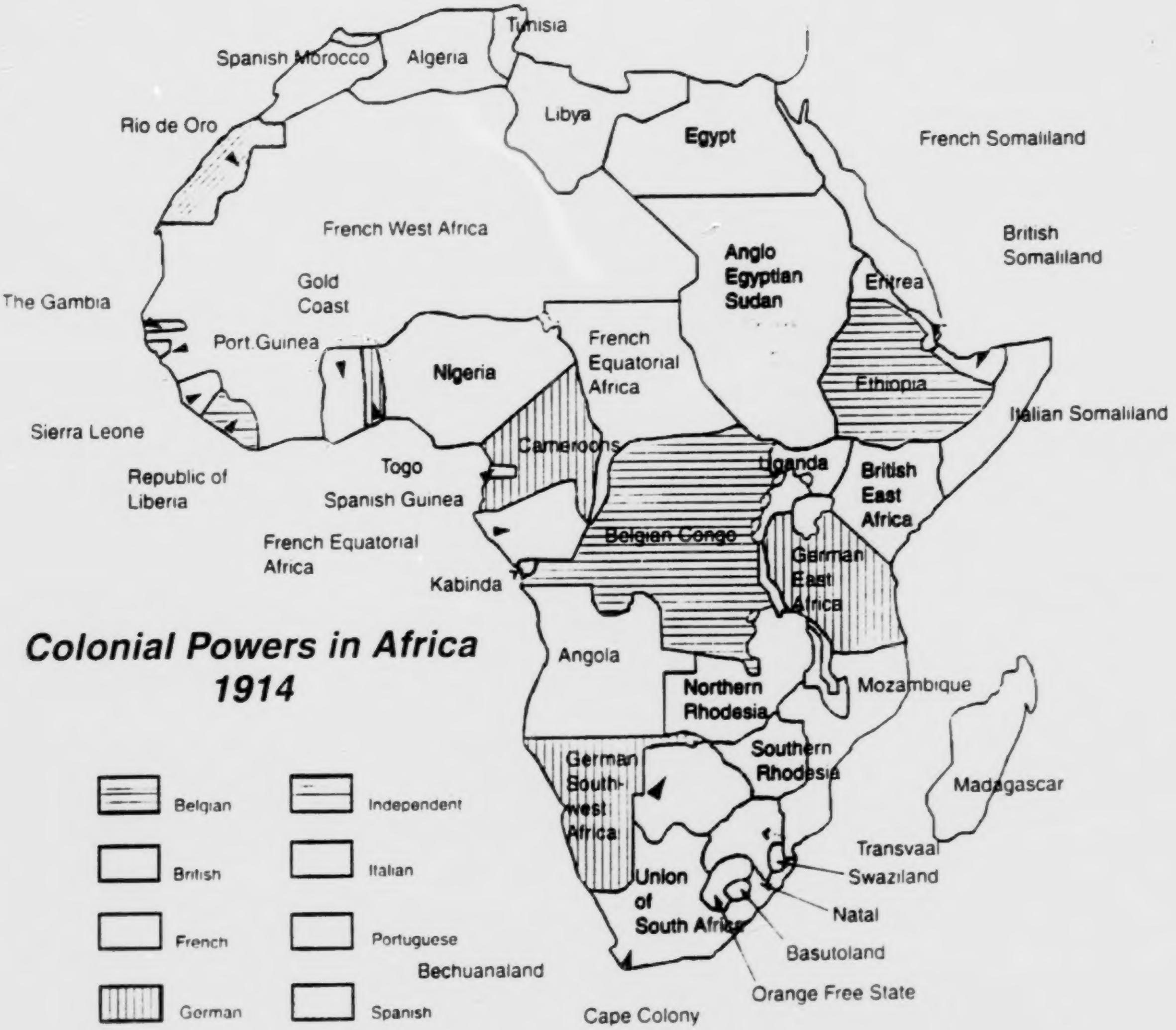
16. (1876/1914) Recall that the rivalry between France and Britain was one of the most intense among the Great Powers. Offer some evidence from these maps that you suspect shows evidence of this rivalry.



Africa in 1876: Alien and Indigenous Powers

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Colonial Powers in Africa 1914



Name:

Study Guide—Part II The European Conquest

1. What did Livingstone discover in Africa that made him unhappy? What did he propose to solve the problem?

2. Why did the leaders of Germany and Italy decide they needed to acquire colonies for their countries?

3. List and explain three ways European economic issues affected the fate of Africa.

   a.

   b.

   c.

4. Why did King Leopold choose the Congo as the place where he would try to develop his own personal empire?

5. How did King Leopold develop his image as a great humanitarian leader?

6. What roles did the explorer Henry Stanley play in the history of Africa?

7. What different groups in the United States supported recognition for the Congo Free State?

8. What were the official goals of the Berlin Conference of 1884-85?

9. What role did the Great Powers expect King Leopold to play in the Congo?

10. List four provisions of the Berlin Act of 1885

a.

b.

c.

d.

11. Consider the entire section of reading. List in chronological order (earliest to latest) five things King Leopold did to gain control of the Congo.

a.

b.

c.

d.

e.

Day 2

Name:

Advanced Study Guide—Part II The European Conquest

1. What do the idea of "saving Africa from itself" and the concept of the "3 Cs" have in common? What do both reveal about European attitudes about themselves and about Africans?

2. How did rivalries among European Great Powers affect Africa?

3. What might explain why the Belgian parliament was not interested in King Leopold's ambitions in Africa?

4. How did Leopold use the British-French rivalry to his own advantage?

5. David Livingstone was already dead by the time of the Berlin Conference, but it has often been said that his spirit was alive and well at the conference. What evidence would support that idea?

6. Find the four provisions of the Berlin Act of 1885 that are listed in the reading. Rank them in order from the one you think is most important to the one you think is least important. Briefly explain your reasoning.

   a.

   b.

   c.

   d.

7. What might an African have said if given a chance to speak at the Berlin Conference? Develop a few possible answers to this question.

How Disturbing Stories about the Congo Emerged

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze primary sources to draw conclusions about the economic, political and social impact of colonialism on the Congo
- Apply prior learning to draw new conclusions.
- Predict the effects of new information on the development of a social movement.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part III of the background reading in the student text (pages 13-20) and completed "Study Guide—Part III" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB 18-19) or the "Advanced Study Guide—Part III" (TRB-20).

Note: Students will be using "Personal Testomonies from the Congo" from the student text (pages 44-48) in class.

In the Classroom:

1. *Establishing Background*— Ask students to recall from last night's reading the names and actions taken by some of the individuals who sought to counter King Leopold's version of what was happening in the Congo. Record some of the answers on the board.

2. *Applying prior knowledge*— Have students turn to "Personal Testimonies from the Congo." Give them a few minutes to read these passages. Ask students to recall the descriptions they read in Part I about what life was like among the Africans of the Congo before colonization. With a partner, students should then look for evidence from the testimonies that demonstrates that elements of pre-colonization lifestyles either were disrupted by colonization or were preserved despite colonization.

4. *Predicting Outcomes* —Based on what students have already learned, ask them to make predictions (this could be in writing or as a whole class) about how King Leopold and E.D. Morel will each react to the publication of these testimonies. How might the publication of such information affect popular opinion in Britain? How might the change in public opinion affect the British Parliament?

Homework:

Students should read "June 9, 1904: A Moment of Decision" in the student text (page 21), "Options in Brief" (page 22) and "Lobbying Groups in Brief" (page 32). Depending on reading speed, you might also choose to have students read all three options and all three lobbying groups in their entirety—or assign students to read their own option thoroughly.

Day 3

Name:

Study Guide—Part III The Reality of the Congo Free State

1. When would the agents of the Congo Free State use "pacification campaigns" against the natives peoples of the Congo?

2. List three ways King Leopold used the anti-slavery campaign to his own advantage.

   a.

   b.

   c.

3. How did the European and North American bicycle and automobile industries affect the Congo?

4. List six factors demographers use to explain why the population of the Congo fell by approximately half during the first two decades of the rubber trade.

   a.

   b.

   c.

   d.

   e.

   f.

5. After George Washington Williams visited the Congo, what actions did he take to try to improve the situation he found there?

6. What actions did King Leopold take to prevent the accusations of George Washington Williams from having too serious of an effect on his control of the Congo?

7. What was the APS and what role did it play regarding the Congo?

8. How did E.D. Morel's job influence the role he played in uncovering the truth about the atrocities in the Congo?

9. What methods did Morel use to try to create change in the Congo?

10. Why did the British Parliament hold a debate on the issue of abuses in the Congo?

11. Who was Sir Roger Casement and why did he travel to the Congo?

Name:

Advanced Study Guide—Part III The Reality of the Congo Free State

1. What did the land decree of July 1, 1885, show about the level of European understanding of African cultures?

2. How did the existence of the Swahili slave trade work to the advantage of King Leopold?

3. How might an African opponent of the "rubber tax" argue against each of the rationales for the tax provided by Leopold's agents?

4. Of the passages from the letters of George Washington Williams, which one would King Leopold likely find to be the most dangerous and threatening to his continued power?

5. Describe three incidents from Part III that show King Leopold's skill at manipulating other people to get what he wanted.

6. What are some of the factors that might explain why it was E.D. Morel, rather than anyone else, who became King Leopold's most difficult opponent?

7. Of items two through six of Morel's demands (listed on p. 18) which one would King Leopold most strongly resist? Which one would Morel probably feel was most important?

8. How would you expect George Washington Williams and E.D. Morel to react to the resolution passed by the British Parliament in 1903?

Role Playing the Three Options: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze the issues and forces shaping public opinion and the opinions of Members of Parliament in Britain regarding the situation in the Congo
- Identify core values underlying each of the options.
- Speculate about the alliances that would be formed between various sectors of the population.
- Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Required Reading:

Students should have read "June 9, 1904: A Moment of Decision" in the student text (page 21), "Options in Brief" (page 22), and "Lobbying Groups in Brief" (page 32).

Handouts:

- "Considering Your Option—June 9, 1904" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB- 22)

In the Classroom:

1. *Reachng a Critical Juncture*— Review "June 9, 1904: A Moment of Decision" with students. Emphasize that by this point there was unanimity of opinion in the House of Commons that a serious problem existed in the Congo. The debate that was looming was more about what wwould be the most appropriate manner for the British government to respond.

2. *Planning for Group Work* —Explain to students that during the next class day they will be simulating the Parliamentary debate of June 1904. Today they will carefully prepare for the debate in small groups. Encourage them to incorporate as many ideas as possible from their various background readings into their statements, questions, and debating strategies. Assign students to the three options, the three lobbying groups, and to the undecided group.

3a. *Option Groups*— Form three groups of two or three students. Assign an option to each group. Distribute "Considering Your Option—June 9, 1904" to each group.

3b. *Lobbying Groups*—Form three groups of two or three students. Assign a lobbying group identity to each group of students. Distribute "Planning Your Lobbying Strategy" (TRB-23) to each lobbying group. Tell them to read the directions carefully.

3b. *Undecided Members of Parliment*—Distribute "Undecided Members of Parliament" (TRB-24) to the remainder of the class. While the Option Groups are preparing their presentations and the Lobbying Groups are preparing their strategies, the Undecided MPs should develop identities for themselves and prepare questions and comments to make following presentations by each of the other groups.

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Considering Your Option—June 9, 1904

Directions: You are a member of a group of Members of Parliament that supports a particular approach to addressing the problems in the Congo Free State. As a member of the House of Commons, you must constantly remember that you are an elected official. Therefore you are expected to react to public opinion, but you are also expected to follow your conscience in making decisions that are for the good of the nation, both now and in the future.

You and your partner(s) will be given two to four minutes to give a presentation to your fellow MPs. Your goal is to persuade them, especially those who are currently undecided about British policy, to adopt your point of view. After all three groups have presented their options, the undecided MPs will have a chance to ask you questions or challenge your ideas before the lobbying groups present their positions. The following questions are meant to help you focus your ideas before you plan your two-to-four minute presentation. Draw upon all of the readings and activities you have done in this unit in shaping your position.

1. According to your option, what primary British interests are at stake in the Congo debate?

2. How does the situation in the Congo relate to the manner in which Britain administers its own vast colonial empire?

3. How might Britain's response to the situation in the Congo affect our country's relations with the other nations of Europe?

4. How has history influenced our rights, privileges, and obligation to act in the Congo?

5. If your option is adopted, how will it affect the future of Britain, Britain's relations with other countries, and the future of the Congo?

6. What specific actions by Britain would satisfy the interests of your option?

7. What actions by Britain would be absolutely unacceptable to fulfilling your option?

Planning Your Lobbying Strategy

Directions: You and your partner(s) have been assigned to one of the many lobbying groups that tried to influence the direction of official British policy on the Congo question. As a lobbyist, you are not allowed to vote following the debate in Parliament. However, you can still have a major effect on the outcome through four major roles:

- You can provide helpful information to the Members of Parliament who support the same ideas you embrace.
- You can try to persuade the undecided MPs and even the MPs who support other positions.
- You will be asked by the Speaker of the House to present your position after all of the Option Groups have presented and have had a chance to answer questions. This gives you an opportunity to "set the record straight" after others have spoken.

You must listen carefully when the other groups present and pay attention to the types of questions they are asked and the nature of their responses. Your own presentation is an opportunity to strengthen the case made by those MPs with whom you agree and to weaken the case made by the MPs with whom you disagree.

Use the following questions to plan the basic details of your presentation:

1. Who are the biggest supporters of your lobbying group? What motivates your supporters?

2. What are the essential values that shape the mission of your group?

3. Which of the three Option Groups is likely to be most open to your ideas? Why?

4. Which of the three Option Groups is likely to be most hostile to your ideas? Why?

5. How can you present your ideas to be less threatening to the group that is most likely to be hostile?

6. In order to persuade the Undecided MPs you will need to convince them that your ideas are good for the future of Britain. What are the strongest arguments you can make in this regard?

Undecided Members of Parliament

Directions: You are a Member of Parliament who agrees with the basic idea that there are terrible abuses taking place in the Congo, but you have not yet decided upon the best way for Britain to respond to these abuses. You have three main roles in the debate:

- First, you and your partners are expected to ask many probing questions and make statements that challenge the MPs in the Option Groups to defend and clarify their points of view. You want to make it very clear how the proposed solutions would affect the future of Britain.
- The Option Group MPs will enter the debate with strong opinions already formed. You can help them find common ground that addresses the concerns of more than one Option Group.
- You will likely be the key to the outcome of the debate. In all likelihood, the Option Group MPs will not significantly change their positions. Therefore, the Lobbying Groups will be directing much of their attention to winning you over to their point of view. Listen carefully to what they have to say.

Creating your personality: You need to create an identity for yourself as an MP. Consider the various types of people that have been described in the readings you have completed and then create an identity. For instance, you might be an MP who is also a Baptist minister. Or you could be an MP who was elected after your successful service as a colonial governor in the British colony of India. Perhaps you are the brother of one of the great British explorers who mapped so much of Africa in the second half of the nineteenth century. Maybe your family is related to powerful political families in one of the continental European countries. Or you could represent an electoral district in a city such as Manchester, Liverpool or London that has particular economic interests in the situation.

Developing questions and statements: Whatever identity you choose for yourself, you need to think about how that identity would shape your opinions. Your questions and comments should reflect the kinds of things that would be particularly important to someone with your background. Work with other undecided MPs to ensure that together you are asking a wide variety of questions after the three Option Groups have presented. Develop at least one question to ask each Option Group. For instance, an MP who is also a minister might ask of the supporters of Option 3: "How can we stand by while we know that immoral activities are continuing to take place in the Congo and while our missionaries are placed in danger by policies that are sure to create instability in the Congo?"

You must listen carefully when the Option Groups present since they may answer your question in their two-to-four minute presentations. In that case, you may alter your questions or formulate completely new questions based upon their presentation.

Carefully examine the ideas of all three options. Look for ways that you could help them find common ground. Try to identify values that they share or historical lessons upon which they could agree.

Developing a point of view: Listen carefully to all three presentations and record some of your thoughts on the Evaluation Form that will be provided to you on the day of the debate. Also listen carefully to the statements made by the lobbying groups to see which presents the best image of how their ideas will shape the future.

Remember that your duty as an MP is to vote for a resolution that will be in the best interests of the future of Britain, not just in the interests of your character.

Role Playing the Three Options: Debate and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will:

- Articulate the leading values influencing the direction of British foreign policy toward the Congo Free State.
- Explore the various forces in British society that helped shape the debate.
- Develop skills of public speaking and persuasive writing.
- Develop skills of active listening.
- Cooperate with classmates in developing a parliamentary resolution.

Handouts:

- "Evaluation Form—Undecided MPs" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB-26) only for the Undecided MPs

In the Classroom:

1. *Setting the Stage*— Organize the room so that members of the three option groups sit with each other, so that members of the three lobbying groups sit with each other, and so that the undecided MPs sit together. The teacher (or a reliable student identified by the teacher) should be at the front of the room to play the role of Speaker of the House to recognize speakers and coordinate debate.

2. *Managing the Simulation* —The Speaker of the House should declare the session open and then should explain that he/she will recognize members of each of the Option Groups to speak for 2-4 minutes. After all three groups have presented, the Undecided MPs should be given time to ask questions of each Option Group. The Speaker should ensure that questions are directed toward all three options. Time must be left for Lobbying Groups to present their information (2-4 minutes each).

Homework:

Students should read "Epilogue: The Aftermath—1904 to the Present" in the student text (pages 39-43) and complete "Study Guide—Epilogue" (TRB-28). If you are going to do the optional lesson (TRB-27) you should have students read "Individuals of Conscience" in the student text (pages 49-54).

Evaluation Form Undecided Members of Parliament

Directions: While listening to the presentations, answer the questions below from the perspective of your character.

What was the most persuasive argument in favor of this option?	What was the most persuasive argument presented against this option?
Option 1:	*Option 1*
Option 2:	*Option 2*
Option 3	*Option 3*

How did each of the following lobbying groups influence your thinking?

Congo Reform Association:

Liverpool Chamber of Commerce:

Supporters of King Leopold:

Considering all of the evidence presented, what course of action would you recommend for the future of Britain?

The Aftermath—1904 to the Present and Individuals of Conscience

Objectives:

Students will:

- Compare and contrast the outcome of their own debate with the outcome of the real debate.
- Assess the short- and long-term effects of colonialism in the Congo.
- Assess the impact of individuals on the course of history.
- Identify characteristics of "individuals of conscience."
- Compare the past and present for "individuals of conscience" and activists.

Required Reading:

Students should have read "Epilogue: The Aftermath—1904 to the Present" in the Student text (pages 39-43) and completed "Study Guide—Epilogue" (TRB-28). Students should have read "Individuals of Conscience" in the student text (pages 49-54).

Handouts:

- "Comparing Three Individuals"(TRB-29)

In the Classroom:

1. *Understanding what happened to the Congo Free State*—Review with students the outcome of the debatein the British Parliament. Spend a few minutes reviewing events in the region since then. How have things changed? How have they remained the same?

2. *Making Connections*— Provide students with copies of "Comparing Three Individuals." Instruct them to read (or review) Williams, Brazza, and Livingstone and then use "Comparing Three Individuals" to make comparisons. If students are placed in groups of three, each member of the group could be assigned to one of the individuals to speed up the process of comparison. Discuss some of the questions as a whole class.

3. *Defining an "Individual of Conscience"*— Make a list of the attributes of an individual of conscience. Can any person be one? Ask students to identify other individuals of conscience who had an impact on the course of history? What personal qualities did these individuals have? Are there individuals today that students would identify as individuals of conscience? What kinds of people has the class identified? Local, national, or international? Politicians, outsiders, religious figures, sports figures, business leaders?

4. *Comparing Past and Present:*—How is the world today different for activists and individuals of conscience than it was for Williams et. al.? What methods do individuals of conscience and organizations use today to make their point? What advantages do activists have today over those from the period of the unit? Ask students to name as many organizations and activists that support a current cause as they can. How do these organizations make their points?

Extra Challege:

Topics for Further Investigation: 1. Examine the causes of the current instability in the Congo region? How is the situation like that of the Congo Free State? How is it different? 2. Read the explanation of human rights in the Issue Toolbox (TRB-32). Which view of human rights do you subscribe to? Are human rights being violated in the Congo region today? What role should the United States play in the Congo? 3. What are the origins of decolonization? Were some decolonizations more "succesful" than others?

Study Guide—Epilogue: The Aftermath—1904 to the Present

1. What were some of the results of the real parliamentary debate of June 9, 1904?

2. Why did King Leopold appoint an Independent Commission of Inquiry?

3. What role did the Congo Reform Association play following the debate of 1904?

4. Why did the Congo Free State change its name to the Belgian Congo?

5. What did the Belgians mean when they referred to the Congo as a "model colony"?

6. How did the independence of the Congo differ from that of most other African colonies?

7. What effects did Joseph Mobutu have on the Congo/Zaïre?

8. Who is Laurent Kabila?

Comparing Three Individuals

Directions: Consider what you have learned about Pierre de Brazza, David Livingstone, and George Washington Williams as you answer these questions.

1. What personality traits do all three men share?

2. What types of personal and professional sacrifices did each man make in order to follow his conscience?

3. If one were to accuse any of these men of being motivated by self interest, which one would be most vulnerable to such criticism? Explain why.

4a. All three men personally knew the explorer Henry Stanley. If Livingstone, Williams, and Brazza all got together to talk about Stanley, what sorts of opinions would they probably hold in common (that is, on what would they agree)?

b. How would they likely disagree about Stanley?

5. What is common about the end of all three men's lives?

6. How did each of these three men influence the history of the Congo Free State?

7. Rank the three men based on the extent to which King Leopold would perceive their ideas and actions as a threat. Offer reasons for your rankings.

—Biggest threat:

—Second biggest threat:

—Least threatening:

8. Which of these individuals' actions and ideas would be most helpful to the Congo Reform Movement of E.D. Morel? Explain why.

9. How did E.D. Morel differ from Williams, Brazza, and Livingstone?

Key Terms

Part I: Pre-Colonial Central African Culture

indigenous
human rights
economics
colonization

ethnic groups
trade networks
surplus labor
gender roles

cultural patterns
peace treaty
monopoly

Part II: The European Conquest

imperial powers
Great Powers
mass production
neutral

humanitarian
international recognition
commerce
diplomats

Part III: The Reality of the Congo Free State

decrees
export
currency

import
capitalist free-trader
Consul

Epilogue:The Aftermath—1904 to the Present

Cold War
secession
coup d'etat

Issues Toolbox

Human Rights: Equal and inalienable rights for all members of the human family. During the era of King Leopold, human rights were not universally understood or granted. After the horrors of World War II, nations initiated efforts to develop international standards to protect people from individuals, groups, or nations. Today, there is debate at home and abroad about the nature and scope of human rights. Some believe that human rights exist to protect individuals' civil and political freedoms. Civil and political rights include the right to life, liberty and personal security, freedom from slavery, torture and arbitrary arrest, as well as the right to a fair trial, free speech, free movement, and privacy. Others have argued that there are economic, social, and cultural rights as well. These include economic rights related to work, fair pay, and leisure; social rights concerning an adequate standard of living for health, well-being and education; and the right to participate in the cultural life of the community. International consensus is growing that human rights should encompass the full spectrum covered by these viewpoints.

Imperialism: The policy of extending the rule of a nation over foreign countries as well as acquiring colonies and dependencies. Imperialism has traditionally involved power and the use of coercion, whether military force or some other form. Supporters of imperialist policy traditionally used one of several arguments. Elements of each of these arguments can be found in the story of King Leopold and the Congo. One argument was economic: imperialism was profitable. A second school of thought drew on Darwinian theory and suggested that there was a struggle between nations and people in which only the fittest would survive. They believed that the Anglo-Saxon race and northern Europeans were best-suited to spread their religious, cultural, and civic values throughout the world. A third argument was based on security issues: a nation could protect itself by acquiring territory and wealth around the world. The fourth argument was often religious or moral: indigenous people could be given a better life. Livingstone's 3 C's (Commerce, Christianity, and Civilization) illustrate this school of thought.

Self-determination: The right of a people to govern their own affairs. Widely accepted today, this was a radical notion at the time of King Leopold. Only George Washington Williams considered self-determination as a solution to the problems of the Congo Free State. In 1918, to the dismay of the European colonial powers, President Wilson proposed in his Fourteen Point peace proposal the right of self-determination.

De-Colonization: After the Second World War, many small nations challenged the rule of empires and claimed a right of self-determination. With this right enshrined in its new charter, the United Nations took up Wilson's banner of self-determination and began to champion a policy of decolonization. The two most powerful nations, the United States and the Soviet Union also supported decolonization, though evidence suggests that they were interested in replacing the influence of the former colonial rulers with their own. The murder of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo is but one illustration of this. Decolonization proceeded successfully, but brought its own problems that persist to this day in Central Africa, in the Middle East, and in Asia.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

Like the art of cooking, cooperative group learning is a skill that is rarely perfected on the first attempt, either by teachers or students. Yet with careful preparation, guidance, and practice significant gains can be made quickly. No single recipe guarantees success with cooperative learning or the Choices approach in every classroom. That would be impossible, since each classroom differs in its organization and size, and its unique collection of personalities and needs. However, this section of the Teacher's Resource Book offers a variety of ingredients for teachers to use as they adapt Choices curricula to their classrooms. The suggested ingredients that follow have been drawn from educational research on student-centered instruction and, more important, from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms over the past six years. Educators who have questions about using Choices curricula in their classrooms are encouraged to contact the Choices Education Project in writing, or by calling (401)863-3155. The Choices staff includes experienced classroom teachers who will be pleased to speak with you.

Designing Cooperative Learning Groups

Group Size: The key to successful cooperative group work is having a group assignment that is complex enough to require the participation of all group members. Planning the size and composition of working groups in advance is crucial to the successful use of Choices curricula. Research indicates that the ideal size for a cooperative learning group is four or five students. This is certainly the ideal size for group assignments in Choices units. When using Choices units in larger classes, the size of option groups may be expanded to six or seven students. However, it is important to keep in mind that whenever the number of students in a group is increased, the number of roles and expected outcomes must also be expanded.

Group Composition: A strength of cooperative learning is that it creates opportunities for students to work together in new combinations on challenging tasks. Cooperative learning not only requires the academic skills of reading, writing, and critical thinking, but the interpersonal skills of communication, negotiation, and problem-solving. In most cases, this style of instruction and learning is most effective when students are assigned to groups by the teacher rather than being allowed to work with their friends. While random group selection can be effective, in most classes successful group composition requires that the teacher consider the personalities, strengths, and needs of the students.

Groups comprised of students with diverse strengths, talents, and needs are ideal. For example, artistic students might be assigned to different groups to share their talents and perspectives, while less verbal students could be placed in groups with more outgoing students to help draw them into the lesson. Whenever possible, teachers should try to prevent one student from dominating a group. Explaining the instructions, roles, and ground rules for cooperative learning (see below) helps prevent this. Teachers may choose to group aggressive students with each other, leaving room in other groups for less assertive students to emerge as leaders. Finally, even though the negotiation of roles among the students in a group can be a valuable part of the cooperative learning experience, teachers might choose to assign certain roles, such as group spokesperson, in order to encourage leadership from more reticent students and to keep more aggressive students from dominating.

Students may initially complain about being assigned to groups that do not include their closest friends. We have found that, at the conclusion of the assignment, they will usually express satisfaction with their assigned partners, recognize that they got more accomplished, and sometimes even acknowledge the start of new friendships. The additional time involved in planning group size and composition will pay off when students are actively engaged, debating, and thinking critically.

Preparing Students for Cooperative Learning

Provide Clear Written Instructions: As with any assignment, students benefit from instructions and guidelines that clearly outline expectations and how they will be accomplished. These should be given to students in writing and reviewed with the class. Afterwards, as questions arise within groups, students should refer to the written instructions and attempt to answer each other's questions before asking for the teacher's assistance.

Establish Ground Rules: Especially when cooperative learning is a new experience, students benefit from the establishment of ground rules that are explained before groups are formed. Ground rules must be kept simple, and should be designed to keep students involved and on task. Posting these rules in a prominent place in the classroom can be very effective. An example of simple but effective ground rules for the cooperative group assignments could be:

Everybody has a role (or a job)
Everybody participates
Nobody dominates
Nobody interrupts

These rules can be enforced by appointing one student to serve as the group manager. The teacher can make it clear that one of the group manager's responsibilities is to enforce the ground rules as the group explores its assigned option and prepares its presentation. The group manager might also be required to make sure that members of the group stay on task and attempt to solve problems before asking for the teacher's assistance. Ground rules that are clear and used consistently can, over time, become an integral component of the classroom, facilitating learning and keeping students on task.

Managing the Choices Simulation

Recognize Time Limitations: At the heart of the Choices approach is the role-play simulation in which students advocate different options, question each other, and debate. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations and debate can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations and debate. Hence, if only one class period is available, student groups must be ready as soon as class begins. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role-play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts the momentum of the debate. The best strategy for managing the role-play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up the debate. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Highlight the Importance of Values: During the debate and debriefing, it is important to highlight the role of values in the options. Students should be instructed to identify the core values and priorities underlying the different options.

Moving Beyond the Options

As a culminating activity of most Choices units, students are expected to articulate their own views of the issue under consideration. An effective way to move beyond the options debate to creating individual options is to have students consider which values in the options framework they hold most dear. Typically, students will hold several of these values simultaneously and will need to prioritize them to reach a considered judgment about the issue at hand. These values should be reflected in their own options and should shape the goals and policies they advocate.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another alternative is to combine two small classes.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Research suggests that it is counterproductive to give students individual grades on cooperative group assignments. A significant part of the assignment given to the group is to cooperate in achieving a common goal, as opposed to looking out for individual interests. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It may be useful to note that in addition to the cooperative group assignments, students complete individual assignments as well in every Choices unit. The "Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations" on the following page is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an extremely effective way to make them think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Evaluating Student Options: The most important outcomes of a Choices unit are the original options developed and articulated by each student. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints. These options cannot be graded as right or wrong, but should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the student provide reasons for his/her viewpoint along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the student identify the risks involved? Did the student present his/her option in a convincing manner?

Testing: In a formal evaluation of the Choices approach, it was demonstrated that students using Choices learned the factual information presented as well as or better than students who were taught in a more traditional lecture-discussion format. However, the larger benefits of the Choices approach were evident when students using Choices demonstrated significantly higher ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints, compared to students who did not use this approach. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. However, a simple multiple-choice examination will not allow students to demonstrate the critical thinking and communication skills developed through the Choices unit. If teachers choose to test students, they may wish to explore new models of test design that require students to do more than recognize correct answers. Tests should not replace the development of student options.

For Further Reading: Cohen, Elizabeth G. *Designing Groupwork: Strategies for the Heterogeneous Classroom* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1986).

Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

Group assignment: ______________________________

Group members: ______________________________

____

Group Assessment	*Excellent*	*Good*	*Average*	*Needs Improvement*	*Unsatisfactory*
1. The group made good use of its preparation time	5	4	3	2	1
2. The presentation reflected analysis of the issues under consideration	5	4	3	2	1
3. The presentation was coherent and persuasive	5	4	3	2	1
4. The group incorporated relevant sections of the background reading into its presentation	5	4	3	2	1
5. The group's presenters spoke clearly, maintained eye contact, and made an effort to hold the attention of their audience	5	4	3	2	1
6. The presentation incorporated contributions from all the members of the group	5	4	3	2	1
Individual Assessment					
1. The student cooperated with other group members	5	4	3	2	1
2. The student was well-prepared to meet his or her responsibilities	5	4	3	2	1
3. The student made a significant contribution to the group's presentation	5	4	3	2	1

Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan

Day 1: See Day Three of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan. (Students should have read Part II & Part III of the background reading and completed "Study Guide — Part III" before beginning the unit. To gain an introduction to the topic, students should also read the first page of the background reading.)

Day 2: Assign each student one of the options or lobbying groups, and allow a few minutes for students to familiarize themselves with the mindsets of the options. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned options. How do the options differ in their assumptions about the England's role in the world? What are the essential values that shape the mission of each group?

Homework: Students should read "Epilogue: The Aftermath—1904 to the Present."

Day 3: See the Optional Lesson.

Notes

Order Form

Global Challenges

	Classroom Sets* (15+ copies)	Single Units*	Quantity	Subtotal
Considering the U.S. Role: The International System in the 21st Century (1st edition-June 1999)	$7 each	$15		
U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World (8th edition-January 1999)	$7 each	$15		
Global Environmental Problems: Implications for U.S. Policy (9th edition-June 2000)	$7 each	$15		
Help, Handout, or Hindrance: U.S. Support for the Developing World (3rd edition-October 1998)	$7 each	$15		
U.S. Trade Policy: Competing in a Global Economy (7th edition-February 2000)	$7 each	$15		
Keeping the Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role (8th edition-November 2000)	$7 each	$15		

Areas in Transition

	Classroom Sets* (15+ copies)	Single Units*	Quantity	Subtotal
Shifting Sands: Balancing U.S. Interests in the Middle East (3rd edition-October 2000)	$7 each	$15		
Caught between Two Worlds: Mexico at the Crossroads (3rd edition-January 1999)	$7 each	$15		
Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era (7th edition-August 2000)	$7 each	$15		
Russia's Uncertain Transition: Challenges for U.S. Policy (4th edition-September 2000)	$7 each	$15		
China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response (5th edition-November 2000)	$7 each	$15		

Historical Turning Points

	Classroom Sets* (15+ copies)	Single Units*	Quantity	Subtotal
A More Perfect Union: Shaping American Government (3rd edition)	$7 each	$15		
Challenges to the New Republic: Prelude to the War of 1812 (1st edition)	$7 each	$15		
Reluctant Colossus: America Enters the Age of Imperialism (2nd edition)	$7 each	$15		
Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: The Colonial Experience in the Congo (1st edition)	$7 each	$15		
Crisis, Conscience, and Choices: Weimar Germany and the Rise of Hitler (3rd edition)	$7 each	$15		
Ending the War against Japan: Science, Morality, and the Atomic Bomb (2nd edition)	$7 each	$15		
Coming to Terms with Power: U.S. Choices after World War II (3rd edition)	$7 each	$15		
In the Shadow of the Cold War: The Caribbean and Central America in U.S. Foreign Policy (5th edition)	$7 each	$15		
The Limits of Power: The United States in Vietnam (4th edition)	$7 each	$15		

Subtotal ______

add 7% for shipping and handling ______

TOTAL ______

*Choices gives you a choice

***Single units** are designed to be photocopied. For $15, you receive a reproducible student text and a teacher's resource book. You are welcome to make as many copies as you need. You may also **download units** at www.choices.edu for $8 each.*

***Classroom sets** of student texts (15 or more of the same unit) the price per copy falls to $7. A teacher's resource book is included free with each classroom set.*

Make checks payable to: Brown University

Return to: Choices Education Project
Watson Institute for International Studies
Brown University, Box 1948
Providence, RI 02912

Name ______

Course title(s) ______

School/Org. ______

Street ______

City/State ______ Zip ______

For more information or to place an online order, visit www.choices.edu, or call (401) 863-3155.

Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: Colonialism in the Congo engages students in an examination of the effects of colonialism in the Congo. The unit helps them to understand the impact on indigenous people and the debate that grew in Europe about widespread abuses by the colonial authorities.

Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: Colonialism in the Congo is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

Choices for the 21st Century Education Project
Watson Institute for International Studies
Box 1948, Brown University
Providence, RI 02912

http://www.choices.edu

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: Colonialism in the Congo

CONGO DEMONSTR
THE
Protest of Christian England
ROYAL ALBERT HALL
Friday, November 19, 1909.
THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

PUBLIC POLICY DEBATE IN THE CLASSROOM

Choices for the 21st Century Education Project

A program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr.
Institute for International Studies

Brown University

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: Colonialism in the Congo was developed by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project with the assistance of the research staff of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, scholars at Brown University, and other experts in the field. We wish to thank the following researchers for their invaluable input:

L. Perry Curtis, *Professor of History*
Brown University

Nancy Jacobs, *Assistant Professor of History*
Brown University

Peter Uvin, *Henry Leir Chair of International Humanitarian Studies*
Fletcher School of Law and Dipolmacy, Tufts University

Adam Hochschild's book, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*, provided much of the intellectual inspiration for this unit.

To Michael Barton of Kingsboro, Massachusetts, Patricia Clancy of Vernon, New Jersey, and Ron Levitsky of Northfield, Illinois, we extend our appreciation for helping us to revise the format of Choices units to make them responsive to a wider variety of student learning styles.

Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: Colonialism in the Congo is one of a series of units that applies the choices approach to critical junctures in history. The Choices Education Project also publish an ongoing series on current foreign policy issues. New units are published each academic year, and all units are updated regularly.

Visit us on the World Wide Web —
http://www.choices.edu

CHOICES

for the 21st Century
Education Project
October 2000

Director
Susan Graseck

Curriculum Developer
Andy Blackadar

Coordinator of
Public Programs
Megan Secatore

Professional Development
Coordinator
Lucy Mueller

Staff Associate
Anne Campau Prout

Office Assistant
Cynthia Manzotti

Unit Author
Paul Cunningham

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University.

Thomas J. Biersteker
Director, Watson Institute for International Studies

CONTENTS

Part I: Pre-Colonial Central African Culture 1

Part II: The European Conquest 7

Part III: The Reality of the Congo Free State 13

Options in Brief 22

Options 23-31

- Option 1: Act Alone to Protect British Interests and the Rights of Victims 23
- Option 2: Cooperate with Other Great Powers 26
- Option 3: Focus on the British Empire 29

Lobbying Groups in Brief 32

- Lobby Group 1: Congo Reform Association 33
- Lobby Group 2: Liverpool Chamber of Commerce 35
- Lobby Group 3: Supporters of King Leopold 37

Epilogue: The Aftermath: 1904 to the Present 39

Personal Testimonies from the Congo 44

Individuals of Conscience 49-54

THE CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY EDUCATION PROJECT is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University. CHOICES was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgment on policy priorities.

THE THOMAS J. WATSON JR. INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES was established at Brown University in 1986 to serve as a forum for students, faculty, visiting scholars, and policy practitioners, who are committed to studying global problems and developing international initiatives to benefit society.

© Copyright October 2000. 1st Edition. Choices for the 21st Century Education Project. All rights reserved. Permission is granted to duplicate and distribute for classroom use with appropriate credit given. Duplicates may not be resold. Single units (consisting of a student text and a teacher's resource book) are available for $15 each. Classroom sets (15 or more student texts) may be ordered at $7 per copy. A teacher's resource book is included free with each classroom set. Orders should be addressed to: Choices Education Project, Watson Institute for International Studies, Box 1948, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912. Please see the order form in the back of this unit or visit our website at <http://www.choices.edu>. ISBN1-891306-34-0

PART I : Pre-Colonial Central African Culture

I was giddy and appalled at the significance of my discoveries. It must be bad enough to stumble upon a murder. I had stumbled upon a secret society of murderers with a King for a [leader]. And fifteen years previously this self same King had been acclaimed by Europe as a great philanthropist ...hailed as the champion of Christendom! To probe the scandal to its very dregs and to take action, though what action I hardly knew, had by that time become for me at once a manifest duty and a dominating passion."

Edmund Morel, a shipping clerk at a Liverpool, England, steamship company in the waning years of the 19th century had accidentally uncovered a dark chapter in human history. Eyewitnesses to colonial rule in the Congo at the time have provided disturbing descriptions of the same dark secrets.

"The conquest of the earth, which mostly means taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much...They were dying slowly—it was very clear. They were not enemies, they were not criminals, they were nothing earthly now—nothing but black shadows of disease and starvation."

"We tried, always going further into the forest, and when we failed and our rubber was short, the soldiers came to our towns and killed us. Many were shot. Some had their ears cut off; others were tied up with ropes round their necks and bodies and taken away."

"In one case, soldiers tied prisoners' hands very tight with rope. The latter were outside in the rain all night. It rained very hard. The thongs contracted, the prisoners' hands swelled. The thongs cut into the bone of one man's terribly swollen hands...the soldiers beat the prisoner's hands against a tree with their rifle butts. His hands fell off."

This was the evidence confirming what many wanted to believe was a myth. These were the years when millions of Africans unwillingly shed their blood and sacrificed their lives to harvest rubber from the forests of Central Africa to send to the factories of Europe and North America.

In the coming days you will read about this dark chapter of human history and the effort to bring it to an end. This story will confront you with the worst elements of greed, jealousy, and cruelty in human nature. This is also a story of hope—a story of the thousands of average people who joined the first global human rights movement and worked to bring the injustices to an end.

The roots of the story require an understanding of conditions in Central Africa long before things went dreadfully wrong.

NOTE TO STUDENTS

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries much of the world was under the control of a handful of European countries with colonies around the globe. From the vantage point of today, these countries' ruthless pursuit of wealth and power may seem shocking. Yet the horrible conditions in the Congo gave birth to questions that are familiar to us today. Do all people everywhere have the same basic human rights? When should citizens and governments of one country be concerned about people in other countries? When is it acceptable for people to control other people? How should we balance issues of economics and moral values when making decisions about national policy?

In this unit, you will follow the path of decision-makers and activists at the dawn of the twentieth century. You will be asked to view the world from their perspectives. With your classmates, you will analyze the situation and explore the policy choices that were considered.

This unit is built around selections from speeches, articles, and personal testimonies. These primary sources are the raw material that historians work with when they write history. As you study these documents, ask yourself what are the values and perceptions behind these opinions and what are the implications of the recommendations offered.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CENTRAL AFRICA BEFORE THE EUROPEANS ARRIVED

Europeans and Americans often think of Africa as "The Dark Continent," a vast region with no advanced cultures before outsiders arrived with the gifts of European civilization. Furthermore, the American image of Africa is usually seen through the lens of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, thinking only about what happened to Africans while they were transported to the Americas as slaves and after they arrived here. To understand the impact that colonization had on life in Central Africa, one must first examine African societies as they existed in the region before it became the possession of Europeans.

What was life like in the Congo River basin before the Europeans arrived?

It is difficult to make generalizations about life before the Europeans arrived. The region that today is called the Congo was never united under one government in pre-colonial times. Instead, more than 200 different ethnic groups occupied this region, each with its own customs and history. Some groups controlled territories of thousands of square miles under the rule of one leader. The Azande people covered 48,000 square miles, an area roughly the size of New York state. Others lived in small-scale village-based societies.

Throughout the Congo, the religious beliefs and practices of ethnic groups defined their identity as much as Christianity did that of most Europeans at the time. In general, people worshipped multiple spirits that were associated with a Supreme Being. These multiple spirits were approached through prayers to dead ancestors whom they believed could influence the spirits.

As is true all over the world, these cultures changed continually to adapt to new conditions. Regional environmental differences within the Congo tropical rainforest and savanna regions had led to variations in plant and animal life. This in turn led to

How historians know what the Congo was like

The various ethnic groups of the Congo were non-literate societies, meaning they did not possess written languages before the Europeans arrived. As a result it is difficult to form a complete picture of what these cultures were like. In addition, the first Europeans often misinterpreted what they saw and often recorded observations that confirmed their biases. Most Europeans arrived in Africa assuming that European civilization was more advanced than African civilization, and their writings usually show this prejudice.

Nevertheless, historians use a variety of sources to get a more accurate image of these societies. First, they use the writings of European explorers, missionaries and merchants. By examining a variety of different written sources, historians begin to identify which statements are objective facts and which show biases of the writers. Second, historians refer to the writings of Africans who learned to read and write soon after the Europeans arrived. For instance, King Affonso of the Kongo people became literate just after Portuguese ships arrived in the late 1400s. Writings such as his provide a different point of view from the writings by Europeans. Third, the various ethnic groups of the Congo River basin had developed oral-history traditions to pass knowledge from one generation to the next. Many of these oral traditions have survived until today. Historians and anthropologists have interviewed those who keep this knowledge alive. In many of these oral traditions, there are stories that describe life before the arrival of the white man and the way that Africans responded to the early European activities in their homelands. Finally, archaeologists are able to use physical artifacts to reconstruct the movement of products and people over great distances.

From all of these sources, historians have been able to develop a fairly complete picture of life before the Europeans had taken over the region. However, it is important to remember that this involves a certain amount of guesswork. Students of history should understand that some of the guesses we make about the pre-colonial cultures cannot always be confirmed or refuted by what is known.

extensive trade networks between the various geographic regions so that residents of different areas could benefit from the resources of each other. As these trade networks expanded, cultural and technological ideas spread along with the products traded.

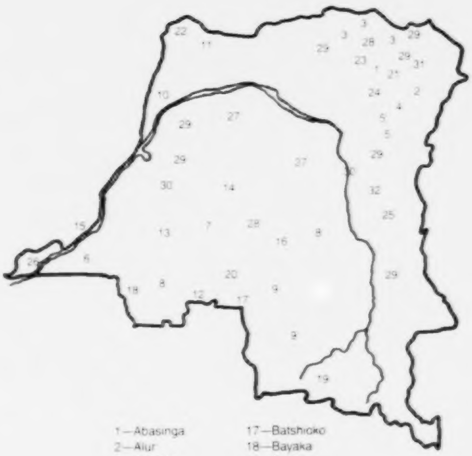
Who were the Kongo and how did they live?

Some useful observations can be made by examining a few specific groups out of the hundreds that lived in the Congo. The Kongo people were the first of the region to have extensive interaction with Europeans because they were located on the Atlantic coast. It is from this group that the Europeans got the name for the entire region.

The Kongo lived in a kingdom of approximately two or three million people in a territory about 300 miles wide near the mouth of the Congo River. The kingdom had existed for more than 100 years before the Portuguese established contacts in 1483. Unlike in most European kingdoms, the position of king was not based solely on heredity. The kingdom was led by a monarch who was chosen by an assembly of leaders representing the various extended family networks, or clans, of the kingdom. Like the crown and scepter of a European king, the ManiKongo (the title of the king of the Kongo) carried a zebra-tail whip and wore a small cap on his head. In his capital city of Mbanza Kongo he sat upon a wood and ivory throne. From that position, he oversaw governors of each of the half dozen provinces of his kingdom. He also controlled the supply of currency (cowrie shells), collected taxes, and tried to ensure that his kingdom ran smoothly.

The Kongo society was a matrilineal society, one in which ancestry is traced through the woman's side of the family rather than the man's side. Women in many families were able to achieve positions of power as sisters within a ruling family. In some aristocratic families, women even took on the role of the head of the household and had a remarkable amount of control over their choice of spouse. The raising of children was considered a joint responsibility of husband and wife. Polygamy (the taking of multiple spouses) was an accepted practice among the Kongo, but adultery (sexual relations outside marriage) was punished through a well-developed court system.

Reproduced from *Who Killed the Congo?*



1—Abasinga
2—Alur
3—Azande
4—Babira
5—Bahema
6—Bakongo (Kongo)
7—Bakuba
8—Bakusu
9—Baluba
10—Bangala
11—Banza
12—Bapende
13—Basongo
14—Basongo-Meno
15—Bateke
16—Batela
17—Batshioko
18—Bayaka
19—Bayeke
20—Bene Lulua
21—Bongo
22—Bwaka
23—Mambare
24—Mangbetu
25—Manyema
26—Mayumbe
27—Mongo
28—Munu
29—Pygmy
30—Wagenia
31—Walese
32—Warega

Selected Tribes of the Congo Region

The Kongo Kingdom had relationships with the neighboring kingdoms of Tio, Mbundu and Ngola. Sometimes these relationships were friendly trade relationships. At other times, these neighbors went to war and the winner often took prisoners as slaves. This practice would eventually be taken advantage of by the Portuguese merchants.

Who were the Mongo and how did they live?

While the Kongo are a coastal people, the Mongo are another major ethnic group found in the interior of the river basin. Their ancestors first settled in the region around the first century A.D. Among these people, life was traditionally organized in villages of 100 to 400 inhabitants. Within each village, people typically lived in family compounds of 20 to 40 members led by a senior elder. Community affairs were coordinated by a council of compound elders and a village chief who was chosen by the compound elders. While there was no central government structure over all the Mongo villages, several villages would voluntarily form districts for common defense. Marriages across village lines were often used to create this sense of district identity.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Geographic differences led the Mongo to make distinctions between "water people" (villages based on fishing) and "land people" (villages based on hunting, gathering and farming). With the introduction of the easily-grown banana trees to their society around 1000 A.D., new areas were opened to settlement and population increased As food production became more efficient, surplus labor allowed specialization in other types of work. Pottery-making, iron-smelting, canoe production and other activities came to be associated with specific villages. This created more reasons to develop trade networks among the villages.

As with all societies, different gender roles developed among the Mongo people. The chart below shows a simplified version of the different roles of men and women in this society. Europeans often assumed that cultural patterns of one group would be transferred to another group. However, these roles were not the same in all of the cultures of the Congo. For instance, fishing was predominantly a female pursuit among the Mongo, and done primarily during the dry season when river levels were lower. Among the Elinga people, fishing was a year-round, male activity.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE EUROPEANS

There is no single answer to why Europeans came to Central Africa. During the same Age of Exploration that brought Columbus and other explorers to the Americas, Europeans ventured down the west coast of Africa. The Portuguese were the first to arrive in Central Africa, meeting the Kongo people in the late 1400s. They were attracted to the region by basic curiosity, the adventuresome spirit of the age, the desire to find new trade routes to India and East Asia, intentions of spreading Christian beliefs, and by legends of the golden wealth of Africa. In the Congo River basin Europeans faced major barriers to exploration. Dense rain forests, rapids and waterfalls on the river, diseases like malaria and sleeping sickness, and strong coastal kingdoms all prevented the Europeans from venturing inland until the mid-19th century.

How did Europeans misinterpret Congolese culture?

When the Europeans arrived, they often reached the conclusion that the indigenous people (these are the people native to any particular area) were simply living off of what nature provided to them. Outsiders generally did not realize how much work these people had put into making the land productive. Tropical rainforest soils lose their fertility very quickly. As a result, new fields had to be cleared for agriculture every three to five years to allow exhausted soil to lie fallow and be replenished by the forest. Groups of 20 to 25 men would work together to clear a new piece of land for women to farm. This process of letting land lie fallow meant that villages needed to hold in reserve four or five times the amount of land they were currently farming. They also needed land beyond that to use for hunting and gathering. This helped to keep population densities (the number of people per square mile) low and created distance between villages.

Because Europeans did not see the sprawling farms of their home continent, they felt the Africans did not use the land efficiently—not understanding that European-style farming would lead to rapid soil loss. The Europeans also did not realize that trees that seemed to be growing naturally in the forest had actually been carefully planted by the people living nearby. This was especially true of the valuable palm

TRADITIONAL GENDER ROLES OF THE MONGO PEOPLE

Men	Women
Clearing land for agriculture	Farming
Gathering medicinal plants & honey	Gathering food
Hunting	Fishing
Construction of houses	Gathering firewood
Trapping	Preparing meals
Making tools and weapons	Making baskets and pots
	Caring for children

tree groves that Europeans would later claim as a "natural resource."

THE SLAVE AND IVORY TRADES

Much of the modern history between Europe, the Americas, and Africa is influenced by the trans-Atlantic slave trade that began in the 15th century.

How did the trans-Atlantic slave trade begin?

In 1442 an expedition sponsored by Henry the Navigator returned to Portugal with a dozen Africans captured in a West African village. Soon thereafter, Spain and Portugal began exporting people from Africa to meet their labor needs in Europe, and then later in their new American colonies. Britain joined the trade in 1562, followed by the Dutch around 1620, and the French around 1640. Later the slave trade also included the Swedes, Danes, Prussians, and Americans.

What effect did the slave trade have on the Congo?

Slavery had existed in Africa long before Europeans arrived. Traditionally, slaves were obtained in a variety of ways, including through sale, trade, and the taking of prisoners. Once taken as a slave, treatment varied. In some cases, a slave was integrated into the family as an extra pair of hands to do work and not treated very differently from other members of the family. In other cases, male slaves endured the humiliation of having to do traditionally female work. Throughout the Congo region, it was not unusual for slaves to be able to work to earn their own freedom or freedom for their children. It also was common in some cultures for free men to marry slaves. Contrary to what developed in most of the slave owning societies of the Americas, some traditional African slave systems considered it the duty of a master to provide a spouse for a slave. Despite these traditions, some slaves still were abused and many desired their freedom.

As the European traders on the coast began purchasing slaves for export, a new dynamic developed. Conflicts between different groups intensified as they searched for new captives who could be traded for European manufactured goods including weapons. This upset the traditional balance of power between ethnic groups, as those with direct contacts with the Europeans could trade humans for weapons that could then be used to secure still more slaves. The king of the Kongo Kingdom had initially allowed his merchants to cooperate with the Portuguese merchants in their desire for slaves, but he had never expected the demand to be so large.

In 1506, the brilliant King Affonso took the throne. Like all Kongo monarchs, he owned slaves, but was troubled by the nature of this new slave trade. In 1526, he wrote to the Portuguese king about its disruptive effects on his kingdom. The king of Portugal did nothing to help his fellow Christian monarch stop the trade. Instead things only got worse.

> *"Sir, Your Highness should know how our Kingdom is being lost in so many ways...We cannot reckon how great the damage is, since the mentioned merchants are taking every day our natives, sons of the land and the sons of our noblemen and vassals and our relatives, because the thieves and men of bad conscience grab them wishing to have the things and wares of this Kingdom...So great, Sir, is the corruption...that our country is being completely depopulated, and Your Highness should not agree with this nor accept it."*
>
> *—King Affonso's letter to the King of Portugal*

In 1567 and 1568, the Kongo Kingdom was invaded by the neighboring Tio and Jaga peoples who had purchased weapons from the Portuguese. The result was that one of the strongest kingdoms of the region lost its strength forever, making itself and the other Africans all the more vulnerable to the slave trade.

In 1713, a war in Europe between Spain and Britain came to an end. One of the details of the peace treaty (The Treaty of Utrecht) gave the British a monopoly over the slave trade between Africa and Spain's American colonies.

By the late 18th century, Europeans were exporting about 15,000 slaves per year from the Congo. Congolese middlemen traded with groups in the interior to supply this unending demand. European records from the 1790s show slaves arriving at the coast from as far inland as 700 miles.

How did Europeans influence Congolese trade?

Most Mongo villages did not see their first European visitors until the 1880s. Nonetheless, Europeans were influencing life in these villages long before then. The Portuguese had brought maize, groundnuts (peanuts) and beans to the coastal peoples in the 16th century. Through trade networks these new crops had worked their way into the interior and had been adopted by the Mongo. Other products were traded as well. Records show that the Aruwimi people, over 2,000 miles from the coast, received European and American cloth, satin strips, kettles, red baize cloth, umbrellas, brass rods, iron cooking pots, pipes, mirrors, knives, beads, muskets and gunpowder in trade for local products. Local woods, camwood powder used in cosmetics, wax, ivory, tin, copper, lead, palm oil, and rubber were exported to the coast and then on to Europe and North America.

All of this trade occurred without the interior people ever seeing a white man, providing evidence that complex trade relationships had developed among the various African ethnic groups at the time. The Europeans on the coast were influencing life in other ways as well.

Ethnic groups in the interior abandoned their traditional productive activities such as farming and fishing to devote all of their time to this profitable new trade. While some ethnic groups lost large numbers of their people to slavery, other groups prospered as the middlemen of the slave trade.

The damage caused to Africa by the slave trade can never be fully calculated, but some statements can be made with certainty. The slave trade caused direct loss of life through warfare, both with Europeans and between African ethnic groups. Fighting caused indirect loss of life through destruction of crops and food storage areas, and through the spread of diseases. Many captives died while being transported to the coast or on the voyage overseas. The result was the loss of millions of lives. However, the Congo interior suffered far less from the slave trade than did many areas of West Africa and coastal areas of Central Africa, the main sources of slaves taken by European traders. Historians estimate that one and a half million slaves were taken out of the entire Congo region. The slave trade probably did not cause as significant of a decline in the population of the interior as it did elsewhere in Africa. Nevertheless, it changed traditional societies in the region forever.

What happened when the trans-Atlantic slave trade ended?

Changing economic conditions in Europe, including the rise of capitalism and wage labor led to a decreased need for slave labor. Eventually the Europeans who had created this trade in human cargo had a change of conscience. The British, formerly dominant in the slave trade, banned it in the early 1800s. Others followed suit. By the 1850s, the European demand for slaves had nearly dried up. But Europeans were still interested in trading for other goods.

The demand for elephant ivory began to rise around the same time. By 1890, the Congolese were exporting 76,448 kilograms of ivory, accounting for 56 percent of the total exports from the Congo. To keep the trade routes working, many of the Africans who had trafficked in slaves for the Europeans, now kept slaves to carry ivory and other products downstream for export and to bring European manufactured goods upstream as valuable imports.

Ironically, the Europeans of the late 19th and early 20th centuries condemned the widespread practice of slavery within the Congo. A condition the Europeans helped to create became evidence of backward practices that were used to justify European control over supposedly "less civilized" people. Around the same time, Arab slave traders on the east coast of Africa worked their way inland to the eastern Congo and began to export large numbers of slaves to ports on the Indian Ocean. This caused more social disruption to traditional Congolese cultures and provided further justification for European intervention in Africa.

While European trade certainly affected the peoples of the Congo, as of 1885 most of the inhabitants of this vast region had never seen a white person. Most of the various ethnic groups were still self-governing. Both of these conditions would soon change.

Part II: The European Conquest

EUROPEAN COLONIZATION WORLDWIDE

When Christopher Columbus set sail on behalf of Spain in 1492, he was on the front edge of a competition among the countries of Europe that would last for more than 400 years. In the process most of the world would fall under the control of European governments. It was in this context that the colonization of Africa took place.

Colonization was the process by which the imperial powers set about exploring, conquering, and exploiting different parts of the world. Toward the end of the 19th century, numerous other nations joined the established colonial powers, Britain and France, in a race to expand their empires. The aspiring colonial powers included, the United States, Japan, Italy, Germany, and Belgium.

How did political events in Europe influence events in Africa?

Much of the future of the African continent was determined by reasons that had nothing to do with the Africans themselves. A glance at a map of Africa today reveals borders that were determined largely by Europeans based on considerations that ignored how African peoples were distributed on the continent.

Perhaps the most significant factors in determining the future of Africa in the colonial period were the relationships and rivalries among the Great Powers of Europe. Two events in 1870 transformed the political face of Europe. First, Italy united itself as a single nation and joined Britain, France, Russia, and Austria-Hungary as one of the Great Powers of Europe. Second, the Franco-Prussian War ended in defeat for France and the formation of a unified German Empire in 1871.

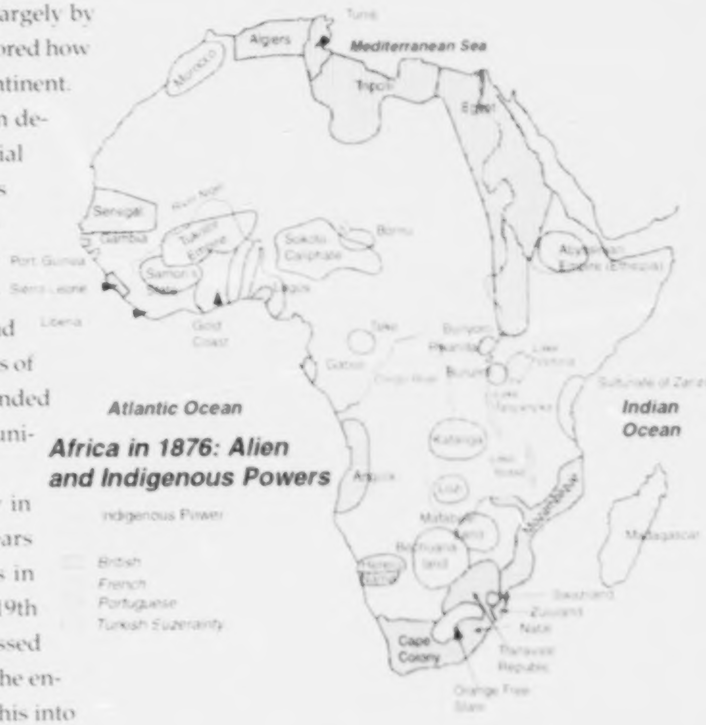
Among the Great Powers one rivalry in particular stands out. For hundreds of years France and Britain had been major rivals in military and economic terms. By the mid-19th century, these two countries already possessed the largest colonial empires in the world. The entrance of a unified Germany would make this into an even more complicated three-way rivalry.

Four of the Great Powers would become deeply engaged in the division of Africa. Great Britain was the greatest colonial power, leading the world in manufacturing and finance, and possessing a powerful navy. As other nations began striving to acquire colonies and to challenge Britain's pre-eminence, rivalries among nations heated up.

France's humiliating loss to Germany in the Franco-Prussian war contributed to France's desire to embark upon colonial adventures overseas that might rebuild its might and glory. Germany and Italy saw that a mark of a Great Power was the possession of colonies. As latecomers to the game, they tried to catch up by grabbing some of the last "unclaimed" pieces of Africa.

How did Europeans come to control most of Africa?

Over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, North and South America were divided among Spain, Portugal, Britain, France, and the Netherlands. (Most



Africa in 1876: Alien and Indigenous Powers of these territories won their independence in the half century after the American Declaration of Independence in 1776.) Meanwhile, much of Asia, Australia and the Pacific was falling under European control. Throughout this period of colonization, Sub-Saharan Africa remained mostly independent. It was not until the 1870s that European advances in tropical medicine, transportation, and technology made it possible to explore the vast interior of this continent. With these new advances in place, "the scramble" for the heart of Africa could begin.

Many of the explorers who took up the challenge of "opening up" Africa became major celebrities and household names in Europe and North America in the late 19th century. Newspapers competed to carry the most up-to-date details of the exploits of people like David Livingstone, Henry Stanley, Pierre de Brazza, John Speke, Gerhard Rohlfs, and Verney Cameron. At the same time, political events involving the Great Powers of Europe pushed countries to try to acquire new territories before their rivals.

Livingstone became the most famous explorer of the 19th century through his countless discoveries and actions in Africa from 1841 until his death from pneumonia in 1873. The press portrayed him as a hero, a philanthropist, and even a saint. During his journeys he came to love many of the people he encountered, but he also was dismayed to discover the growing Swahili slave trade.

The Swahili people were Muslims who lived along the east coast of Africa. They had a centuries' old trading network around the Indian Ocean. Their trade in Congolese slaves was just the latest source of wealth. Livingstone referred to this trade as the "open sore of the world" and he proposed to cure it through the 3 Cs: Commerce, Christianity and Civilization. This became the rallying cry of a whole generation of Europeans who sought to "save Africa from itself."

Reproduced from *The Scramble for Africa*

Pierre de Brazza at a treaty signing ceremony.

How did economic conditions at home fuel colonization in Africa?

By the 1870s the economies of the Great Powers had been transformed by the Industrial Revolution. The basis of these economies shifted from farming and hand-made products to the mass production of manufactured goods in factories.

Meanwhile, in 1873 a terrible economic depression struck Europe. It took nearly 20 years for the economies of the industrialized nations to fully recover. Many people suggested that new colonies could be a source of cheap raw materials for the factories while providing new customers for products manufactured in Europe. Some young, unemployed European men were willing to take the risks associated with business or military activities in the new colonies of Africa since they seemed to have little to lose at home.

KING LEOPOLD OF BELGIUM

In the midst of the Great Power rivalries, it was King Leopold of tiny, neutral Belgium who played the most important role in the story of the Congo. He realized that a great opportunity existed in Central Africa, a region mostly unclaimed by any European powers. The British, having enough difficulties controlling other parts of their empire, had no interest in acquiring this vast territory about which so little was known. The French were mildly interested, but directed their attention more fully to their West African colonies.

How did one man end up controlling most of Central Africa as his own territory?

In September 1876, King Leopold hosted the greatest gathering of explorers and geographers of the entire 19th century. In his opening speech he stated that the goal of the conference was to bring civilization to Africa.

> *[Our goal is]"...to open to civilization the only part of the globe where it has yet to penetrate… it is, I dare to say, a crusade worthy of this century of progress… In bringing you to Brussels I was in no way motivated by selfish designs."*
>
> *—King Leopold*

The conference ended with the formation of the International Africa Association, a body meant to coordinate the remaining exploration of Central Africa and to help open the interior of Africa to the benefits of trade with Europe. Most participants left impressed with the king's dedication to the advancement of humanitarian causes.

The king's real motives, which he did not express in public, were hardly altruistic.

> *"I do not want to miss a good chance of getting us a slice of this magnificent African cake."*
>
> *—King Leopold*

Leopold failed to interest the Belgian parliament in his scheme to acquire a portion of Africa, but he did hire Henry Stanley to continue his exploration and to secure treaties with the local chiefs of the Congo basin. At the same time, the French explorer Pierre de Brazza set out on a similar quest in a different part of the Congo basin, creating a rivalry that held the European public's attention for several years.

From 1879 to 1884 Stanley made his way across the Congo signing treaties with local chiefs on behalf of King Leopold. Through a combination of trade, trickery, alcohol, and intimidation backed by military force, Stanley emerged with over 450 treaties. Contrary to the original promises of the International Africa Association, these treaties granted Leopold exclusive trading rights and gave him, or his designated corporations, exclusive control over the land. Elsewhere in the Congo, Brazza used more honorable methods to secure trade agreements for France. The rivalry between King Leopold and France marked the opening chapter in the "scramble for Africa" that would ultimately divide the continent among the Europeans.

Despite these treaties, Leopold still needed other countries to recognize his power over this territory. That would be his next task.

Why did the United States become the first country to recognize King Leopold's control over the Congo?

Leopold suspected that none of the Great Powers of Europe would be eager to recognize the control of one man over such a huge territory. Instead he turned to the more politically naive United States, a country that had expressed little interest in Africa at the time.

King Leopold of Belgium

Leopold hired the former U.S. ambassador to Belgium, Henry Shelton Sanford, to lobby the U.S. government for recognition of his control over the Congo. Sanford used a variety of methods to build up support for King Leopold.

This Connecticut native began by arranging for President Chester A. Arthur to use his Florida orange plantation for a personal vacation. He followed up with a personal visit to the White House to tell the president of the great humanitarian projects of King Leopold in the Congo. To black voters in the United States, Sanford emphasized that Leopold sought to end the Swahili slave trade. To Senator John Tyler Morgan of Alabama, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, he emphasized that this would be a place where the American South could send many of its freed slaves. Morgan hoped to reduce the number of blacks living in the South while also potentially creating a new market for products produced from southern cotton.

After seeing a copy of Stanley's treaties with local chiefs, business leaders interested in trade convinced the New York Chamber of Commerce to pass a resolution that encouraged the U.S. government to recognize Leopold's control of the Congo. What neither Sanford nor the Chamber of Commerce knew was that this copy of the treaty had been changed in Belgium to make it appear that all countries would have equal access to trade in the Congo. In fact, all countries would not have equal access.

Sanford flattered members of Congress by telling them the Congo Free State would have a constitution modeled on that of the United States. Furthermore, it was to be a federation of independent states that would willingly join together to form one new government, just as the United States had done. He even went so far as to begin calling it the United States of the Congo. To influence public opinion, Sanford paid several key journalists to write articles that favorably portrayed the work being done by Leopold and his Association in the Congo.

Sanford's efforts paid off. In April 1884, the United States became the first country to recognize Leopold's control over the Congo. Now Leopold turned his attention to his fellow Europeans. There he used the methods that had worked in the United States. He had his agents portray a different element of his administration to each European country. To the British public he preached his desire to abolish slavery. To Germany he emphasized the value of free trade. To France he stressed the likelihood that if he didn't get control of this area, the British would. With the French he sweetened the deal by signing an agreement that if his association were to go bankrupt or needed to give up control of the Congo for any reason, France would be given the first opportunity to purchase the territory from Leopold. Leopold had made progress, but he still lacked international recognition for his personal kingdom.

THE BERLIN CONFERENCE

Stanley and Brazza had re-ignited the competition for pieces of Africa. Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Italy and King Leopold all began to turn their attention to the vast areas that remained unclaimed by any of the Europeans.

Why was the Berlin Conference organized?

It was easy to imagine that conflicts between the European countries could emerge from overlapping claims in Africa. To reduce the possibility of such conflicts, the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck arranged for an international conference to be held in Berlin in 1884.

His country's affairs in Europe concerned Bismarck first and foremost. When a German explorer approached him for support, Bismarck put his concern about Germany's vulnerability to invasion by neighboring Europeans before any interest in Africa by saying, "Here is Russia and here is France, with Germany in the middle. That is my map of Africa."

Despite Bismarck's disinterest in Africa, he recognized that his country's position in Europe could be improved through careful manipulation of events in Africa. For instance, he gave the French his word that he would support their claims against the British in Africa. He hoped in turn that this would improve his country's relations with France. By doing so, Germany could instead direct its attention against its main enemy, Russia, a country with no interests in Africa.

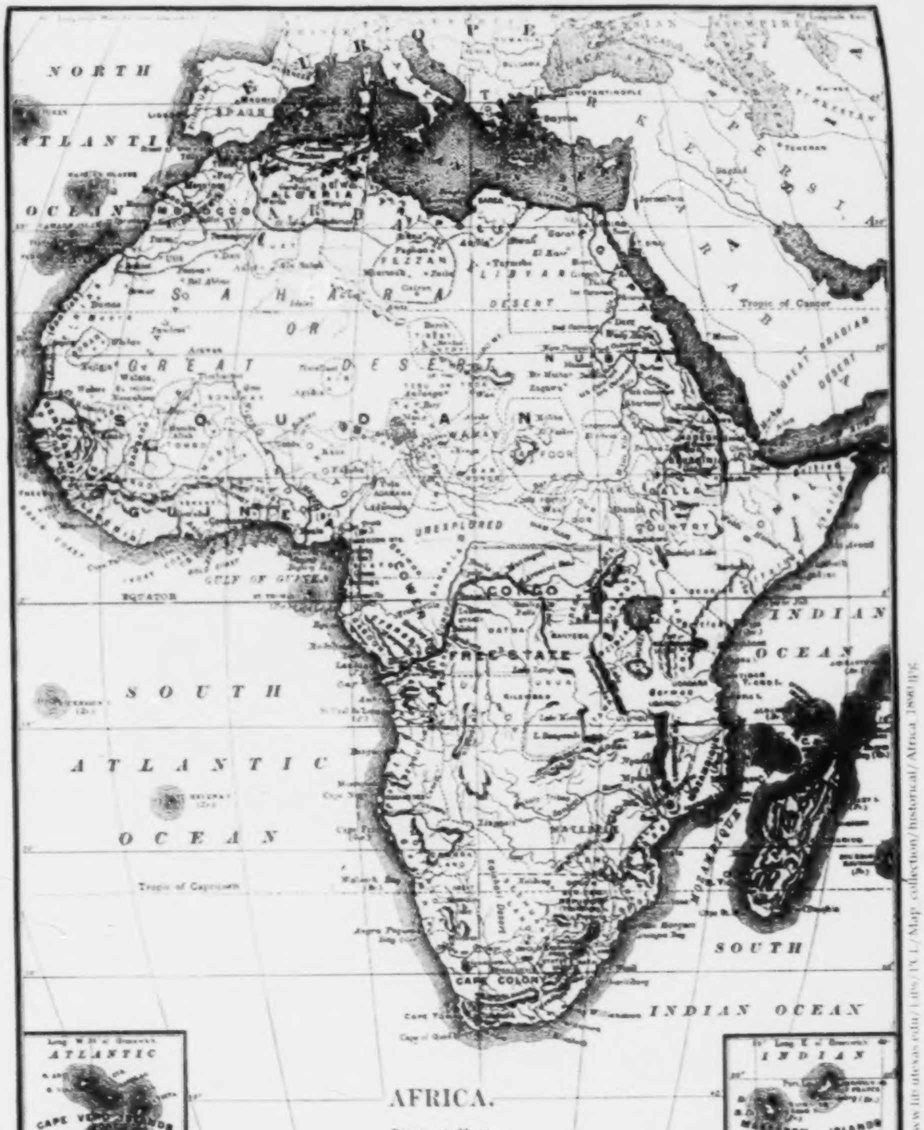
What happened at the Berlin Conference?

Representatives of 14 nations* came together for the Berlin Conference of 1884 and 1885. Because it was not a nation, Leopold's Association was not invited. Bismarck welcomed the representatives with a speech in which he declared that they were all there to promote the 3 Cs, Commerce, Christianity and Civilization. To achieve this goal, he stated, this conference had three aims: to ensure free trade for all nations throughout the Congo, to ensure free navigation for all countries on the Niger River of West Africa (which looked like it was about to fall under British control), and to agree on a set of rules by which the Europeans could proceed to divide the rest of the continent.

Not a single African representative was at the meeting, and few of the participating diplomats had ever set foot on the continent. Conveniently for Leopold, the person at the conference with the most experience in Africa was his friend and paid employee, Henry Stanley. To further assist the Belgian king, he had informants on three of the countries' delegations. Through these contacts, he was able to manipulate events for his own benefit.

For example, when the British delegation complained about the amount of land that was going to

Africa in 1890



http://www.lib.utexas.edu/Libs/PCL/Map_collection/historical/Africa_1890.jpg

---

*Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, the United States, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, The Netherlands, Belgium, and the Ottoman Empire

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

be granted to Leopold's Association, Leopold suggested that if he didn't get what he wanted, he would pull out of Africa completely. That would leave France with the first chance to buy the territory, an outcome the British didn't want. Britain quickly shifted its position to support Leopold's bid for a huge territory. Through this and other manipulations, Leopold ended up getting most of what he wanted. Outside of the conference he managed to sign treaties with all the Great Powers recognizing his control of the Congo.

The conference ended with the signing of the Berlin Act of 1885. Among other provisions, the signatories agreed to protect freedom of religion in all of the colonial territories of Africa. They also promised to "watch over the preservation of the native tribes and to care for the improvement of their moral and material well-being, and to help in suppressing slavery." The delegates went home feeling they had done their best to advance the 3 Cs.

FOUNDING THE CONGO FREE STATE

While the Berlin Conference dealt with issues across all of Africa, it influenced the fate of the Congo more than any other region. Three months after the conference ended its work, Leopold named his new territory, more than 76 times as large as his home country of Belgium, the Congo Free State. King Leopold took on the title of "King-Sovereign of the Congo Free State," a role considered completely independent of his position as King of Belgium, as the Belgian government had no interest in running a colony.

Meanwhile, France took control of most of the area north of the Congo River. Portugal secured a small territory near the mouth of the river. A few other conflicting territorial claims elsewhere in Africa were resolved at the conference, but most of the division of Africa still required more treaties and the hard work of establishing a military and economic presence in each contested territory.

Over the next 15 years all of Africa except Liberia and Ethiopia would be sliced up among the Europeans like the "magnificent cake" Leopold had envisioned years earlier. Britain and France took the two largest pieces, adding to their already sprawling colonial empires.

The participants in the conference proceeded with colonization, believing they had created a huge free trade zone in Central Africa where merchants of all countries would be able to trade equally, regardless of which Europeans governed an area. Leopold was simply expected to play the role of the humanitarian administrator creating a just and stable government in the Congo. The participants expected he would create the conditions in which missionaries and businessmen could do their work. The future would prove them mostly wrong.

Part III: The Reality of the Congo Free State

THE ECONOMY OF THE CONGO FREE STATE

The reality faced by the inhabitants of the Congo contrasted sharply with the noble words of King Leopold. Leopold made certain that the public knew he was investing vast sums of his personal wealth in projects supposedly undertaken for the good of the Congolese people. While Leopold continued to portray himself as a great humanitarian leader, living conditions for most inhabitants of the Congo Free State continued to deteriorate.

How did the establishment of the Congo Free State immediately affect people in the Congo?

One of the first decrees of the new government, issued on July 1, 1885, gave the state the right to take for itself "vacant" lands not "effectively occupied" by Africans. This one law resulted in almost the entire territory being placed in the hands of the government. Villages and towns that had enjoyed the use of their surrounding lands for countless generations found themselves deprived of all but the smallest fields immediately adjacent to their homes.

Meanwhile on the rivers, many of the trading cultures, such as the Bobangi and Boloki, resisted the competition created by European technology. These ethnic groups had reorganized their economies around the thriving trade sparked by European trading posts on the coast. As Europeans traveled inland, their steamships posed a major threat to the canoe-based trading systems of the local peoples. Bobangi traders responded to the new invaders with force. In one location they raided and burned a Free State trading post twice. Agents of the Free State responded to this resistance with military actions called "pacification campaigns."

> *"The expedition has destroyed all the villages between the mouth of the Kasai (river) and Bolobo. The fields are all ravaged. The inhabitants had defended themselves and a great many were killed."*
>
> *—A European Trader*

Reproduced from *King Leopold's Ghost*

King Leopold standing in a pile of African heads.

Once an example had been set, the Europeans worked to repair relations with some of the local tribes. Lacking adequate knowledge of the local environment and adequate numbers of hunters, the Europeans needed local people to continue hunting the elephants for ivory.

One of the expectations for the Congo Free State was to eliminate the Swahili slave trade that was funneling tens of thousands of slaves out of the eastern portions of the Congo. Leopold ordered his soldiers in the Congo to act quickly to subdue the slave traders. The latest advances in European weaponry — especially the repeating rifle and the machine gun — made this was relatively easy to accomplish. Conveniently this also gave the Congo Free State the excuse to defeat one of its key trade rivals: the East African empire of Tippu Tip that was exporting not only slaves, but also valuable ivory, the key export of the Free State in its early years.

How did King Leopold attempt to convince Europe of his good intentions?

To convince the rest of Europe of his good intentions in the Congo Free State, Leopold convened a major anti-slavery conference in Brussels, Belgium, in 1889. Delegates from 17 countries came together to consider how this trade could be ended quickly in all places on earth, but especially in Central and East Africa. In addition, they debated the negative effects of liquor trafficking in colonial areas.

At this conference Leopold was able to convince the leaders of the other countries that the Congo Free State needed to be able to charge import and export duties to raise funds. These funds would then be used to combat the slave trade. Using this humanitarian disguise, Leopold implemented the first major restriction of free trade in the Congo.

When the Congo Free State was first formed in 1885, most of the countries of Western Europe had minor business interests in the region, especially along the coast. The emptiness of the Leopold's promises of free trade became evident over the next decade. Between 1888 and 1897, British and Dutch trade in the Congo fell rapidly. At the same time, trade of Belgian companies increased many times over. This became a source of complaints from the non-Belgian merchants. The change in trade policies coincided with a simple invention: rubber.

Why did trade in rubber begin?

In 1888, John Dunlop produced the first rubber pneumatic tire. Soon the bicycle and automobile industries adopted this innovation, and demand for rubber soared. The Congo was blessed with naturally occurring rubber vines that could be tapped for this valuable resource. At first the Africans responded to the new demand enthusiastically by finding the vines and harvesting quantities of it to sell to the European agents. For a very brief time it looked as though this new trade would benefit both Europeans and Africans. But before long European merchants began to complain about the high prices charged by the African workers.

The solution the Congo Free State Administrator settled on was a "rubber tax" demanded of all people in the Congo. Leopold's agents argued that they had spent large sums on suppressing the slave trade, constructing a railroad around the rapids from Leopoldville to the coast, and bringing modern medicine to the tropics. In return they expected a tax to be paid, but since the people had no currency recognized by Europeans, the Congolese would need to pay it in the form of labor. In theory this labor was not to exceed 40 hours per month. In reality most people had to devote their entire lives to harvesting the rubber and bringing it to the trading posts. In non-rubber producing areas, people had to supply food, transport services or other labor.

Ignoring evidence of the complex pre-colonial trade networks that had recently been adapted for the ivory trade, the Free State government claimed "backward" Africans had to be compelled into the trade relationships that would allegedly benefit them.

How did the rubber trade affect the people of the Congo?

The rubber companies profited handsomely from this new system, but the people of the Congo didn't fare as well. The value of rubber exports from the Congo grew by a factor of 168 between 1888 and 1905. Meanwhile, the effect of the rubber trade on the population of the Congo was more devastating than the European slave trade had been years earlier. Most demographers (people who study population trends) estimate that the population fell by nearly 50 percent over the two decades after the rubber trade began. This remarkable decline was due to a variety of factors, including executions, deaths in battles of resistance, separation of husbands from wives for extended periods of time, people fleeing from the Congo Free State to neighboring territories, exhaustion from overwork, and famine created by the fact that people no longer had time to farm.

And yet outside the region, the Congo Free State was still a symbol of the civilizing mission of Europeans in Africa. It was this image that drew the outsiders who would eventually expose the evils of the King Leopold's Congo.

DISTURBING STORIES EMERGE

The first of these outsiders was an African-American named George Washington Williams. Intrigued by the idea of sending educated American blacks to work in this great humanitarian experiment, he personally traveled to the Congo in 1890. In a matter of days he went from one of the biggest boosters of the Congo Free State to its fiercest critic.

What abuses did George Washington Williams discover?

Despite the fact that several other outsiders witnessed the growing abuses, Williams was the first with the courage to speak out. He wrote a letter directly to King Leopold and another to the President of the United States describing what he had witnessed. Below are just a few of the abuses he recorded in his letter to the king:

— The laws printed and circulated in Europe 'for the protection of the blacks' in the Congo are a dead letter and a fraud.

— Your Majesty's government is excessively cruel to its prisoners, condemning them, for the slightest offenses, to the chain gang...often these ox-chains eat into the necks of the prisoners and produce sores about which the flies circle.

— These poor creatures are frequently beaten with a dried piece of hippopotamus skin...and usually the blood flows at every stroke.

— Women are imported into Your Majesty's Government for immoral purposes... whenever children are born of such relations, the State maintains that the woman being its property the child belongs to it also.

— State soldiers patrol many villages forbidding the natives to trade with any person but a State official, and when the natives refuse to accept the price of the State, their goods are seized by the Government that promised them protection.

— Your Majesty's Government has violated the General Act of the Conference of Berlin by...permitting the natives to carry on the slave-trade, and by engaging in the wholesale and retail slave-trade itself.

— Between 800 and 1000 slaves are sold to be eaten by natives of the Congo State annually.

— In one war two Belgian Army officers saw, from the deck of their steamer, a native in a canoe...He was not a combatant and was ignorant of the conflict in progress upon the shore, some distance away. The officers made a wager of £5 that they could hit the native with their rifles. Three shots were fired and the native fell dead, pierced through the head, and the trade canoe was transformed into a funeral barge and floated down the river.

What effect did Williams' letters have?

Once he had finished recording the enormous range of abuses he found in the Congo, Williams called for action. He appealed to the countries that had

George Washington Williams

signed the Berlin Act to create a commission to investigate his charges. He recommended to the United States that it take the lead in pressuring Leopold to change the nature of the Free State immediately. He felt the U.S. should play this role since it was the first country to recognize the Congo Free State as a member of the family of nations. Williams also asked the Belgian people to exercise their influence with their king. He called on concerned individuals everywhere to organize themselves to create an irresistible pressure demanding change. He urged abolitionist groups, Christian organizations, philanthropists, and diplomats to lobby their governments on behalf of the victims in the Congo. Williams believed that concerned individuals could effectively create a climate in which governments would be forced to take action.

Williams' letters alarmed King Leopold. If the recommendations were followed, he could potentially lose his control over a vast area that was just beginning to show its potential for wealth production. He began a campaign to spread rumors about Williams' personal life and to counter the charges before they could do much damage.

For a brief period after Williams' letters were published, it looked as though Leopold's entire project could unravel. However, Williams died of medical complications while in England and his desperate plea on behalf of the millions of forgotten people in Central Africa disappeared into the shadows. Before the cause was taken up again years later, the situation grew worse.

Who continued the work started by Williams?

The outsiders in the best position to know the truth were the Christian missionaries who streamed into the Congo following its initial exploration. True to his word, Leopold allowed missionaries from all countries to operate within the region. Protestants and Catholics from Europe and North America quickly established their presence in many of the districts of the Free State. They communicated frequently with each other and with their counterparts back home, and by 1895 a tiny number of these individuals from the United States and Sweden began reconstructing the story that Williams had told years before.

> *"If the rubber the Congolese collect does not reach the required amount, the sentries attack them, kill some, and bring the severed hands to the District Commissioner. One sentry said 'The Commissioner has promised us if we have plenty of hands, he will shorten our service.' The hands were often smoked to preserve them till shown to the District Commissioner."*
>
> *—Edvard Sjöblom, Swedish missionary*

Initially, stories of atrocities were few and mostly ignored. As of 1897, only three out of the 463 missionaries in the Congo had spoken out. Most people believed they were hearing exaggerations when they heard stories of thousands of people being killed for not producing rubber and having their hands cut off so soldiers could prove they had killed inadequate workers. Some dismissed the missionaries as "do-gooders" who always were looking for victims of atrocity somewhere in the world whom they could help. Leopold also clouded the issues by suggesting that Protestants were simply trying to defame a colony operated by a Catholic monarch. He temporarily succeeded in using the centuries-old Catholic-Protestant rivalry in Europe to distract people from the real issues.

In 1897, one lone voice in the British House of Commons (the lower house of the British legislature), Sir Charles Dilke, denounced Leopold's government. Dilke's attention was originally drawn by the poor treatment of black British subjects from West Africa who had traveled to the Congo as paid laborers. From there, the larger issue of the even worse treatment of the native peoples began to emerge.

Starting in 1896, an organization called the Aborigines Protection Society (APS) had begun to urge the British government to investigate the stories that had filtered out of the Congo. Henry Richard Fox Bourne, the head of APS, wrote a book called *Civilization in Congoland: A Story of International Wrong-doing*. Against a background of numerous books published by people who had never travelled to the Congo praising Leopold for his humanitarian efforts, its publication in 1903 chronicled the abuses

Reproduced from *The Scramble for Africa*

E. D. Morel

in great detail. Ironically, this humanitarian group, meant to protect the native subjects of European colonies, had earlier elected Leopold as its honorary president in the 1880s. Like so many others, its members had believed Leopold's promises. By the late 1890s, the APS learned its lesson and emerged as one of Leopold's chief critics.

No British missionaries spoke out until October 1903. Leopold kept them quiet through a combination of intimidation, broken promises of reform, and granting of tax exemptions to these groups.

What role did E.D. Morel play in uncovering what was happening in the Congo?

In the late 1890s, a Liverpool shipping clerk became troubled by the cargo lists of ships traveling to and from the Congo Free State. Edmund Dene Morel recognized from examining the accounting books of his company that nothing resembling free trade was taking place in the Congo. Like most others, he had ignored the few voices that were already sounding the warning. However, he was startled to discover that 80 percent of the items shipped into the Congo had nothing to do with trade and everything to do with equipping a military state.

> *"On the face of the import statistics, the natives were getting nothing or next to nothing. How, then, was this rubber and ivory being acquired? Certainly not by commercial dealing. Nothing was going in to pay for what was coming out."*
>
> *—E.D. Morel*

Morel felt he had "stumbled upon a secret society of murderers." Appalled at the discovery that his own employer seemed to be promoting an abusive system, Morel set about the task of launching an effective movement for change.

Morel argued that the true problem was not the cruel actions of any individuals. Instead, he proclaimed, the issue was an entire system that encouraged such atrocities. As a devoted capitalist free-trader, Morel believed that the fundamental problem in the structure of the Free State was the fact that the native people had their land seized from them and were forbidden to sell the fruits of their labor to the highest bidder, and that the State itself had taken control of land and labor and therefore determined all prices and wages. He charged that all of the other problems found in the Free State flowed from this condition. Morel slowly moved from the role of an organizer of others to a spokesman for the cause. In 1902 he made his first public speech on the topic charging that, disguise it as they might, the Congo Free State had "established official slavery."

> *"The Congo Free State has invented a form of slavery more degrading and more atrocious than any slavery which has existed previously. They may disguise it as they like. The fact remains...[the Congo Free State] is guilty of having established official slavery."*
>
> *—E. D. Morel*

66

Over the next few years, E.D. Morel would prove to be King Leopold's most difficult opponent. Morel coordinated numerous meetings to educate the public about the issues. His energy, organizational skills, and reputation as an honest businessman turned out to be the missing ingredient needed to sustain the momentum of a struggling movement. He tirelessly encouraged those with first-hand knowledge to speak out. He lobbied members of the British Parliament to introduce legislation that would address the problem, and he began working with people in other countries who shared his concerns. The most notable of these foreign connections was with Emile Vandervelde, a Belgian socialist member of that country's legislature.

Back in Britain, Morel developed a most important working relationship with Roger Casement. Casement formerly held the position of British Consul in the Congo and had extensive experience as a British diplomat throughout Africa. His personal experience, access to official records, and connection to people in power proved very useful to the cause.

How did the reform movement gather strength?

From time to time, a small number of Members of Parliament took advantage of time set aside for the posing of questions to the Foreign Minister in order to inquire about official British policy toward the Congo Free State. These sporadic questions over the course of 1901, 1902, and early 1903 showed that official British policy was to do nothing about the situation. The reoccurrence of these questions also caused other MPs to start paying attention to the issue of Congo reform.

In a stroke of good timing, the American missionary William Morrison, arrived in England in early 1903. As one of the first to speak publicly about the abuses he had personally witnessed in the Congo, he enjoyed a great deal of respect among reform-minded individuals such as E.D. Morel and Roger Casement. Morel made sure that Morrison had the opportunity to speak publicly in Britain on numerous occasions. He and the other reformers worked tirelessly to cultivate relationships with sympathetic MPs and members of the Foreign Office. They used these relationships both to gain information and to provide new evidence to potential decision-makers. By April 1903 Morel had enough financial backing to launch *The West African Mail*, a weekly newspaper dedicated exclusively to the Congo reform movement. This allowed Morel and others to publish vast quantities of information about atrocities in the Congo and ongoing efforts in Britain and elsewhere to end them. While this newspaper did not have a very wide circulation, it did reach enough interested readers to have a noticeable impact.

How did King Leopold react to the new challenges to his government of the Congo?

This new alliance of concerned individuals clearly made Leopold nervous. Just before the British House of Commons was due to debate the issue in May 1903, he sent some of his representatives, along with Morel's former boss, to try to persuade Morel to change his position. Over a lavish meal, this delegation tried to persuade, threaten, and bribe Morel into altering his public views. The delegation failed. Instead what they earned was Morel's clearest statement of his demands up to that point in time:

- The complete reversal of Leopold's system of government
- Abandonment of the rubber tax
- Ending of the practice of forced labor
- Cancellation of all contracts that granted certain European companies monopolies over trade and resources in certain parts of the Free State
- Prosecution, public trial, and punishment of individuals guilty of atrocities against the natives
- Re-opening of the Congo to free trade with merchants from all nations and allowing the Congolese themselves to decide with whom they would do business

Leopold's agents left the dinner discouraged, recognizing they had met their match.

How did the British government react to the growing call for change?

Despite the young nature of the movement Morel had initiated, it caught the attention of the public and quickly grew into a mass movement demanding action to create change. Public pressure on Members of Parliament forced a debate.

On May 20, 1903, the British House of Commons directed its full attention to the topic of the Congo. Prior to the debate, the British government of Prime Minister Arthur Balfour had been clear that it had no intention of taking any action. Additionally, no British missionaries had as yet made public their opinions on the matter.

The 1903 debate contained a remarkable amount of unanimity. Members of Parliament (MPs) from all political parties, reacting to the public mood, agreed that the horrible stories they had heard demanded the attention of good-hearted people everywhere. As evidence of the success of Morel and others in raising awareness, one MP stated during the debate that "the Government would be very ill-advised if they went contrary to public opinion in this matter." At the same time, British business interests were becoming increasingly concerned that the restrictions on trade introduced in the Congo could spread to colonies held by the other European countries. The result was the unanimous passage of a resolution.

> *"That the Government of the Congo Free State, having, at its inception, guaranteed to the powers that its Native subjects should be governed with humanity, and that no trading monopoly or privilege should be permitted within its dominions, this House requests His Majesty's Government to confer with the other Powers, signatories to the Berlin General Act, by virtue of which the Congo Free State exists, in order that measures may be adopted to abate the evils prevalent in that State."*
>
> *—Resolution of the British Parliament*

Despite the resolution, the other Great Powers had no interest in discussing the Congo. Germany supported King Leopold out of fear that if he were displaced France would get the territory. France's own practices in Africa were very similar to King Leopold's—they wished no careful examination of "evils prevalent in that state" for fear that it would it call attention to their own methods.

What actions did the British government take to fulfill the Parliamentary resolution?

The government followed through on this resolution by contacting all of the other countries that had signed the Berlin Act. Britain suggested that a general conference be held to address the problems uncovered in the Congo. These problems were a clear violation of several articles of the Berlin Act.

EXCERPT FROM THE BERLIN ACT

- Article I : The trade of all nations shall enjoy complete freedom.
- Article V: No power exercising sovereign rights in the Congo basin should grant therein a monopoly or favor of any kind in matters of trade.
- Article VI: The Powers exercising Sovereign rights of influence in the aforesaid territories bind themselves to watch over the preservation of the native tribes and to care for the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well being.

King Leopold reacted immediately, having his supporters lobby the various governments to convince them not to respond to the British appeal. Only Italy, Turkey, and the United States showed even mild interest in taking action. This was hardly the response Parliament had hoped for.

The second action taken by the British government was to appoint an official to personally travel to the Congo to investigate the situation. Many MPs expressed concern that some of the stories they had heard might be exaggerations. They selected Sir Roger Casement to travel to the Congo to carry out this investigation.

What did Casement discover in the Congo?

Casement spent three and a half months traveling throughout the interior. Rather than relying on the steamboats owned by the Congo Free State, he rented his own boat from American missionaries. This allowed him to travel wherever he pleased instead of being controlled by the authorities. He also endured great discomfort, walking through flooded forests, camping in dangerous areas where no mission stations were available, all to be as thorough as possible in uncovering the truth.

> *"They had endured such ill-treatment at the hands of the Government officials and soldiers that nothing had remained but to be killed for failure to bring in rubber or to die in their attempts to satisfy the demands."*
>
> *—Sir Roger Casement*

Casement wrote endlessly to record the depopulation of the region which he attributed to the forced labor system. He regularly sent reports back to the Foreign Office of the British government, wrote scathing letters to the Congo Free State Authorities, communicated with other foreign officials in the Congo, stirred up discontent among missionaries of all nationalities, and kept a detailed diary to use as the basis of the report he would write upon his return to Britain. The effects of that report would prove to be far-reaching.

> *"We said to the white man: 'We are not enough people now to do what you want of us. Our country has not many people in it and the people are dying fast. We are killed by work you make us do, by the stoppage of our plantations and the breaking up of our homes.'"*
>
> *—native of the Congo*

By the time of the 1904 Parliamentary debate, Casement's report to the foreign office had been published. It documented for the public the atrocities that included the destruction of countless villages, murder of women and children, and the men forced into slavery in the Congo Free State. Casement's report also revealed the shocking practice of the soldiers collecting hands by the basketful—hacked off their victims to prove to their officers that they had not wasted ammunition.

June 9, 1904: A Moment of Decision

On June 9, 1904, the British Parliament again debated the situation in the Congo Free State. During the year since the 1903 debate, testimonies from British missionaries confirmed the widespread nature of the atrocities. In February 1904, the Casement Report was released. Rather than finding that the stories circulated in 1903 had exaggerated the situation, Casement found that the situation was more serious than anyone had previously reported. Public pressure for action mounted.

Following a December 1903 meeting between Casement and Morel, these two impassioned reformers founded the Congo Reform Association. From March 1904 until 1913, this group coordinated efforts to keep the public informed and enthusiastic about the cause, provided accurate information to the newspapers, and pressured the government to take action. Following its first public meeting on March 23, 1904, meetings and demonstrations spread quickly throughout Britain. People of all social classes, religions, and professions labored for the humanitarian cause.

Leopold and his handful of British supporters countered with the publication of defenses of the Congo Free State. They also accused the leaders of the Congo Reform Association of having selfish motives and inaccurate information.

It was in this atmosphere that the British Parliament again raised the question of what to do. Throughout the debate it was clear that MPs were aware of the public desire for action. Casement's report had convinced all Members of Parliament that atrocities were being committed on a mass scale in the Congo. Numerous MPs remarked upon how uncommon it was for all members of the House of Commons to agree upon the nature of a problem. Opinions were not as unanimous regarding the solution. The issue involved how to most effectively create change in the Congo while also considering the diplomatic consequences for Britain's relations with the other Great Powers.

Debates took place in Parliament and in community organizations throughout Britain. Three major points of view found supporters. Some favored Britain taking action on its own. Others urged close cooperation with other Great Powers to force action. Still others argued that it would be enough to simply encourage Leopold to make reforms on his own. Often a single individual expressed support for more than one of these positions in the hope that something would be done to address the problems immediately. Other MPs consistently argued for a single position.

All Members of Parliament remained very conscious of the fact that public opinion strongly favored stopping the abuses in the Congo.

They also recognized that their decisions had life-or-death consequences for millions of people in the Congo, that the British economy would be influenced by the outcome, and that they were setting a precedent for future cases involving human rights abuses and colonial administration in Africa and elsewhere.

Options in Brief

Option 1— Act Now, Act Alone, Force Change

Since most of the other Great Powers have succumbed to King Leopold's powers of persuasion, Britain must act alone. Britain, with the largest empire in the world, is the strongest of the Great Powers. With four British colonies bordering on the Congo, we must not allow the situation to deteriorate and destabilize our own colonies. Furthermore, the actions of the Congo Free State are giving colonialism a bad name; no one has more to lose from this than Britain. Britain led the way in developing the free trade system that has helped our country prosper. If we don't act to protect these free trade rights now, we will see the whole system start to erode. The British people also have a long history of being in the forefront of humanitarian movements. It was our navy that took the lead in combating the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and it is Britain that developed the Parliamentary system that now allows the force of enlightened public opinion to demand change. If other countries are unwilling to take a stand in this situation, then it is our duty to forge ahead without them.

Option 2 — Cooperate with Other Great Powers

While only three other governments have expressed interest in the cause so far, careful and determined diplomacy can bring others around to our point of view. Since it was a conference of the Great Powers in 1885 that brought the Congo Free State into existence, it is for all the Powers to take action to address problems. We are living in a new age of international organizations such as the Hague Tribunal, The Red Cross, and the League for Human Rights that are laboring to create a sense of law and norms of behavior that are expected of all civilized nations. Solving this problem collectively will enhance this new cooperative spirit. In addition, acting alone could disrupt the balance of power among the nati[illegible] of Europe and create further diplomatic problems for Britain.

Option 3 — Focus on the British Empire / Gently Encourage Change in the Congo

As the largest colonial power in the world, we must be careful about intervening in internal affairs of a foreign colony. We all know that agents of the British Empire have occasionally carried out actions against our colonial subjects that run contrary to our values. It is up to each government to investigate and punish such actions appropriately. We also must acknowledge that Leopold's government is responsible for some positive developments along with the negative. Leopold should be encouraged to run the Congo Free State more effectively. We should supply information to the Free State that will help its government to investigate atrocities. Simultaneously we must strive to govern our own territories as justly as possible. We can offer Leopold advice from our centuries of colonial experience. As for our trade interests, we must work to tie the economies of our colonies more closely to our home economy. In doing so, we can create the largest free trade zone in the world.

Option 1

Act Alone to Protect British Interests and the Rights of Victims

Since most of the other Great Powers have succumbed to King Leopold's powers of persuasion, Britain must act alone. Britain, with the largest empire in the world, is the strongest of the Great Powers. With four British colonies bordering on the Congo, we must not allow the situation to deteriorate and destabilize our own colonies. Furthermore, the actions of the Congo Free State are giving colonialism a bad name; no one has more to lose from this than Britain. Britain led the way in developing the free trade system that has helped our country prosper. If we don't act to protect these free trade rights now, we will see the whole system start to erode. The British people also have a long history of being in the forefront of humanitarian movements. It was our navy that took the lead in combating the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and it is Britain that developed the Parliamentary system that now allows the force of enlightened public opinion to demand change. If other countries are unwilling to take a stand in this situation, then it is our duty to forge ahead without them.

We have seen in our own country that an economic system in which individuals are able to buy and sell their goods and services as they please has created a prosperous, happy population. We know that if the Congolese had these same rights, most of the evils that are now carried out by the rubber monopolies would disappear. Reform in the Congo requires not just promises of better behavior by government officials. Fundamental, far-reaching changes are needed. Land ownership must be placed back in the hands of the people. The natives must have the right to reap the fruits of their own labors. One monarch should not exercise the sort of absolute power that Leopold now maintains. This vast region must be placed under the control of some institution that is more responsive to popular concerns. While we don't suggest that the Congolese are ready to govern themselves, the Belgian Parliament could take on the powers of government and limit the power of the monarch.

British Interests

Britain has vital interests in Africa that cannot be ignored. Our officials in the border areas already must deal with refugees who flee the Congo in desperate search for a safe haven. As the largest colonial power, Britain must consider the consequences of this example of colonialism gone wrong. All over the world, colonial subjects are watching what happens in the Congo. They are judging not only King Leopold, but the fitness of Europeans to govern their colonial subjects by the Christian values we claim. We can not allow the Congo's failures to taint Britain's colonizing mission.

Leopold's policies have taken their toll on British subjects as well as on the Congolese people. People from Britain and her colonies have lost their lives at the hands of the Free State's "justice system." British merchants have been arrested and tried for practicing free trade as it is defined in the Berlin Act. We have intervened to protect British colonial laborers from the cruel treatment that is daily applied to the Congolese. We should establish a system of Consular Courts in the Congo operated by British judges to try cases of British subjects there. We have no faith in the ability of the local government to provide justice.

Britain must also consider its trade interests. The Congo Free State was supposed to have been a model of free trade open to merchants of all nations, but it is not. Britain has much to lose from this state of affairs. Our country imports and exports more than any other nation in the world and 75 percent of our trade comes from outside of our empire. We must ensure our access to markets all over the world. British shipping lines also carry much of the world's trade. Our access to this trade from the Congo has been restricted by the monopolies granted to a small number of companies.

FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORD

"Nothing effective, it may safely be predicted, will be done unless one of the Powers adopts a strong initiative, and were the British Government to do so, it would only be interpreting what is, we are convinced, almost the unanimous feeling not only of the House of Commons but of the country."

— *The Morning Post, a Conservative British newspaper*

"It is an extraordinary thing that the conscience of Europe, which seventy years ago had put down the slave trade on humanitarian grounds, tolerates the Congo State today. It is as if the moral clock had been put back many hours... In the old days England had in her keeping the conscience of Europe.... But I suppose we are busy with other things—too much involved in great affairs to take up the cudgels for humanity, decency and justice."

— *Joseph Conrad, novelist*

"I am convinced that our principal concentration of effort should be in this country. At the present stage of world politics, the British people can get anything they want if they put their backs into it."

— *E.D. Morel*

"The subject was...the affairs of the Congo State, a matter on which public feeling in this country had been excited for many years past to an extent that had rarely been known.... The motion of last year was passed on 20th May (1903), when attention was called by several honorable Members to the treatment of the natives in the Congo State, and to the responsibilities of this country in connection therewith"

— *Sir Charles Dilke, Liberal MP*

"This country was now at war with Tibet ...for the protection of trade; and if British trade were treated in Morocco as it (is) in the Congo...every British warship in the Mediterranean would be ordered to the African coast.... Has not the time come when we should sweep away all the difficulties which stand in the way, and force the Government to take stronger actions than mere words...to deal with this horrible scandal?"

— *Sir Charles Dilke, Liberal MP*

"This country cannot allow such a state of things as exists in the Free State to go on without protest; and without something which I hope will be more efficient than mere protest."

— *Mr. Austin Taylor, MP*

"I would venture to remind the Congo Free State how very easy it would be for Europe, or indeed for any State that chose, to practically put an end to its existence by sending a few ships to the mouth of the Congo.... The Congo Free State lay absolutely at the mercy of this country."

— *Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Liberal MP*

"The Congo Free State has reached the point when it ought to be no longer recognized as a civilized state. What we ought to do...is, in the first place, to take advantage of everything there is in the Berlin Act to exert to the utmost the rights of this country against the Congo Free State, and also to assert where we could, the international rights of Europe against the Congo Free State. My first suggestion is that we should insist on the establishment of Consular Courts."

— *Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Liberal MP*

"We are quite aware that these philanthropic crusades do not contribute to our popularity abroad; we know very well, and we are constantly informed of the fact by the foreign press, that they are commonly ascribed to motives of hypocrisy, if to nothing worse; and we act, if we act at all, simply from the conviction that an international convention binding its signatories to act on certain definite and recognised principles implies an individual responsibility to see that those obligations are carried out."

— *Earl Percy, Conservative Under Secretary of the Foreign Office*

LESSONS FROM HISTORY

Our efforts today are part of a long, proud tradition. At the dawn of the 19th century, Britain led the movement to abolish slavery. We took the bold step of using our naval vessels to stop ships that we believed were still trafficking in slaves. We freed tens of thousands of slaves in the process. This caused diplomatic problems with other nations, but we persisted because we knew it was the right thing to do. A century later, European opinion looks back and agrees that slavery was an abomination that needed to be destroyed. We now know that the cruel system of the Congo Free State must also be destroyed. This is not just the opinion of politicians in Parliament; the people of Britain have made it clear that they expect us to take action now. Rarely has popular opinion been so unanimous in its expectations of its elected leaders. If no other nation is willing to act, we must do so alone in order to help those who cannot help themselves. History will judge us to have acted correctly.

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING OPTION 1

1. Our nation's continued prosperity depends upon our access to global markets. As the largest commercial and industrial nation in the world, Britain has the most to lose from restrictions placed on free trade anywhere.

2. The problem in the Congo Free State is not just the presence of a few corrupt and abusive officials. The problems all originate from the system of forced labor and quotas that have been imposed upon the people. Change requires a fundamental overhaul of the system, not just promises of closer monitoring of officials.

3. As the strongest military and economic power in the world, Britain has a special responsibility to use its strength for positive causes.

4. Britain's massive colonial holdings in Africa and around the world make it particularly sensitive to the possibility that the very idea of colonialism will be challenged by poor governance.

5. The House of Commons is a popularly-elected legislative body. The people of Britain have made it clear that they expect change in the Congo. Therefore, it is the responsibility of Members of Parliament to act.

ARGUMENTS SUPPORTING OPTION 1

1. Establishing a system of Consular Courts in the Congo will send the message to the Congo Free State that we no longer recognize its ability to provide justice to British subjects. This step is usually reserved only for countries with truly ineffective governments or with cultures vastly different from our own. This will force King Leopold to recognize that his government has failed in one of its most basic tasks.

2. We must keep our options open. King Leopold's government must understand that we are willing to use our powerful navy to enforce the free trade provisions of the Berlin Act.

3. Once Britain begins to take concrete actions, other Great Powers will soon follow our lead. If we wait until all of the other Great Powers are willing to take action, too many more abuses will have been committed.

Option 2

COOPERATE WITH THE OTHER GREAT POWERS

While only three other governments have expressed interest in the cause so far, careful and determined diplomacy can bring others around to our point of view. Since it was a conference of the Great Powers in 1885 that brought the Congo Free State into existence, it is for all the Powers to take action to address problems. We are living in a new age of international organizations such as the Hague Tribunal, The Red Cross, and the League for Human Rights that are laboring to create a sense of law and norms of behavior that are expected of all civilized nations. Solving this problem collectively will enhance this new cooperative spirit. On the other hand, acting alone could disrupt the balance of power among the nations of Europe and create further diplomatic problems for Britain.

The atrocities of the Congo Free State are so severe that they should be the concern of people from all civilized countries, not just Britain. Britain, while capable of acting on its own, can be far more effective by working with the other Powers. Unless we are ready to deploy the British army and navy to yet another trouble spot in the world, we must act hand-in-hand with other countries.

In addition to the Congolese themselves, citizens of many European nations have been wronged by the administration of the Congo Free State. We should capitalize on this widespread dissatisfaction to form a united front against Leopold's government. European merchants have been persecuted for attempting to practice the free trade guaranteed by the Berlin Act.

We must work with sympathetic individuals and organizations in France and Belgium, as well as across Europe and in the United States to end the horror of King Leopold's Congo.

British Interests

The costs of acting alone would be too high. Our overstretched military might have to fight in yet another place, or severe diplomatic consequences could result. The last thing we want is to give the Belgian government the impression that we see them as an enemy. We must carefully distinguish our concerns with King Leopold and our friendship with the Belgian people and their government. We must not push Belgium into an alliance with Germany that would be hostile to British interests.

We must also be careful regarding our friendship with France. Sadly, the French Congo has adopted some of the same practices we now criticize in the Congo Free State. The French must not come to see us as adversaries, since they too could easily form a hostile alliance with the Germans. The Frenchman, Pierre de Brazza, worked hard in the early days of the exploration of the Congo to win the trust of the natives, a trust that has now been squandered by Leopold's policies. We must ask the French people to keep his spirit alive by working with us now to end the most horrendous example of evil anywhere in the colonial world.

Finally, we recognize the importance of free trade to the continued prosperity of the British nation. For it to work effectively, many countries must have free trade policies. Our trade with the Congo Free State will never amount to more than a tiny fraction of all British trade, but if we gain the cooperation of other nations in fighting this battle, we can hope that the lessons of free trade will spread to others. Our goal is a world in which all people enjoy the fruits of free trade and the dignity that accompanies it.

FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORD

"Our most earnest desire in this country is to work with France on the Congo question, and the most genuine wish exists amongst Englishmen that no international jealousies or misunderstandings should prevent the destruction, once and for all, of the Congo State as such."

— *E.D. Morel, in a letter to a French citizen*

"If Germany will back up England frankly, fully and loyally in this business, we shall get what we want. Germany will necessarily bring along Austria, Italy will follow, and America may be induced to act. France will then be left in a state of absolute isolation, which she would not like. The key of the situation is largely in the hands of your Government. Now it used to be said that Germany would follow eagerly in England's footsteps, if England led the way, but that Germany herself would not lead the way. Now that we have led the way I do sincerely trust Germany will follow."

— *E.D. Morel to a German government official*

"The Government ought to be asked to go outside the signatory Powers of the Berlin Act and to appeal to the United States…such an appeal would be pregnant with good results."

— *Sir Charles Dilke, Liberal MP*

"The whole question is what is the best way to affect French and German opinion and that of the U.S.? … The more unanimous we are, the more tendency there is in France, and possibly on the Continent generally, to oppose this as a purely English movement."

— *Sir Charles Dilke, Liberal MP*

"There is not a diplomat living who does not know that the Congo State massacres thousands of human beings with the connivance of His Majesty Leopold II."

— *Monsieur Serge Basset, French journalist*

"It is important that this country should repudiate any idea of aggression or of 'grab' in the matter…. After all, the Congo Free State was formed, in the first place, to prevent the great nations of Europe from grabbing portions of the territory, and it was founded on a free-trade and humanitarian basis."

— *Mr. Alfred Emmott, Liberal MP (replying to Congo Free State accusations that Britain wanted to take the territory for itself)*

"This system is wrong and I believe illegal, but whether illegal or not it is fundamentally, wholly and unutterably bad. This was a danger for which we might have to pay very dearly, for when they (the Congolese) are strong enough to raise a great black rebellion in that part of Africa it might affect the dominions of every other Power in negro Africa."

— *Mr. Alfred Emmott, Liberal MP*

"No half-hearted inquiry under the supervision of the King would be of any use…. What we want is another European conference on this question…another suggestion is to refer the legal point to the Hague Tribunal."

— *Mr. Alfred Emmott, Liberal MP*

"To the Powers which said they have no material interests [in the Congo], I think they must say that we also have no material interests sufficient to justify separate action on our part, but that as it was so obvious that very little combined pressure from the European Powers would effect what was wanted, and as the honour and good name of the Powers who consented to the creation of this State was involved, they, like us, must see that there is a little more than the question of material interests involved."

— *Sir Edward Grey, Liberal MP*

LESSONS FROM HISTORY

The last few years has ushered in a new era. The self-interested power politics of past years are giving way to an international system based on the rule of law. New institutions such as the Hague Tribunal exist as a way to resolve disputes between nations without the use of force. While the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 made it possible for King Leopold to establish personal control over the Congo, it also generated the Berlin Act. This act, agreed to by the Great Powers, is now being violated in countless ways. If we are to believe that international agreements have any meaning, we must act together to enforce these agreements. We suggest that Britain, in cooperation with other powers, should submit violations of the Berlin Act to the Hague Tribunal and let these impartial judges determine that they are illegal. The evidence is so clearly in our favor there is no chance they will rule in favor of Leopold's tyranny. If this is not enough to rectify the situation, we may call for a new European conference to develop a strategy for dealing with the situation.

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING OPTION 2

1. People in all countries, once aware of the horrible atrocities, will be outraged about the situation in the Congo Free State and will want to take action.

2. The cooperative spirit of the age calls upon us to act with other nations rather than alone.

3. The origins of the Congo Free State lie in the actions of the Great Powers as a whole, so the responsibility for solving the current problems lie with the Great Powers of Europe.

4. Other nations are jealous of the prosperity and power of the British Empire and fear any actions that appear intended to further increase that power. Failure to act cooperatively will result in the formation of alliances on the continent hostile to Britain.

ARGUMENTS SUPPORTING OPTION 2

1. A unified approach by the Great Powers will force King Leopold to take action immediately. Any need for the use of force will thus be avoided.

2. Provisions in the Berlin Act call for the existence of an International Commission for the Navigation of the Congo. This organization was never formed. Forming it now would immediately allow outsiders to monitor and enforce not only the free trade articles, but all provisions of the Berlin Conference of 1885.

3. Germany and France both have colonial territories bordering on the Congo Free State. They should be as concerned as Britain about any instability or outrages developing in that vast territory.

4. All Europeans should be concerned about the reputation of their much vaunted Western Civilization. Failure to correct one of the worst abuses in the name of Western Civilization will ultimately taint the image of Europeans all over the world.

Option 3

FOCUS ON THE BRITISH EMPIRE

As the largest colonial power in the world, we must be careful about intervening in the internal affairs of a foreign colony. We all know that agents of the British Empire have occasionally carried out actions against our colonial subjects that run contrary to our values. It is up to each government to investigate and punish such actions appropriately. While the atrocities taking place in the Congo are horrific, we also must acknowledge that Leopold's government is responsible for some positive developments along with the negative. Leopold should be encouraged to run the Congo Free State more effectively. We should supply information to the Free State that will help its government to investigate atrocities. Simultaneously we must strive to govern our own territories as justly as possible. We can offer Leopold advice from our centuries of colonial experience. As for our trade interests, we must work to tie the economies of our own colonies more closely to our home economy. In doing so, we can create the largest free trade zone in the world.

Britain currently administers the world's largest colonial empire— we must be careful of the precedents we set. Governing conquered peoples is never an easy task and it imposes great burdens on those attempting to bring the blessings of civilization to reluctant recipients. The last thing we want to do is give other countries an open invitation to tell us how to govern our vast dominions.

While it is not our place to interfere in the internal affairs of another sovereign nation, it is reasonable to offer the Congo Free State advice based on our vast experience governing faraway territories. When faced with rebellions in our own colonies, British soldiers and governors on occasion have acted in ways that are clearly contrary to our Christian values. British authorities have even been responsible for atrocities against colonial subjects. However, unlike the Congo, we have established a justice system that punishes those who abuse their power. We can help the Congo Free State to develop a similar court system. We believe that King Leopold means to administer his colony effectively, but has thus far failed to do so. Let us encourage King Leopold's government in the Congo to conduct itself in a more civilized manner.

British Interests

At this point in time, the British Empire consists of 74 overseas territories. While the home islands of Great Britain cover 120,979 square miles, the colonies consist of 11,605,238 square miles. Nearly 41 million people live in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but more than 345 million subjects reside in the 74 overseas territories. Well over half of all colonial subjects in the world live under the watchful eye of the British Monarchy and Parliament. These vast holdings provide a unique opportunity. At present, only 25 percent of British trade is carried out with these regions while the remaining 75 percent of our trade is with non-British nations. Nearly all of the resources needed for the functioning of our industries can be found in the lands beneath the Union Jack. The nearly 400 million people under the British Crown can be ample customers for British manufactured goods. Rather than expecting that the rest of the world adopt the British system of free trade, it is time to create a vast region of free trade among our own territories, and grant free access to those markets only to those countries that extend the same trade rights to all of the British Empire.

Acting too forcefully against the Belgian King could encourage the Belgians to turn to Germany for assistance. We must refrain from any reckless colonial adventures that will jeopardize our position in Europe.

One key to making the British Empire more efficient could be the proposed Cape-to-Cairo railroad stretching from South Africa to Egypt. Currently that entire route is in British hands except for the piece of Central Africa occupied by the Congo Free State. Alienating King Leopold will endanger any chance we have of gaining the rights to build across this region.

FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORD

"Considering what has already been sanctioned with regard to the suppression of the Natal rebellion [in South Africa], has this country any jurisdiction for interfering [in the Congo]?"

— Mr. John Ward, Liberal MP

"If the operation of the Commission [for the Protection of the Natives] has not been so effective as might have been anticipated the fault is due not to any deficiency of conception or absence of energy on the part of the central government [of the Congo Free State]"

— Sir Constantine Phipps of the British Foreign Office

"I think perhaps the House may be interested to hear the measures taken in this connection by the Congo Government which have up to the present been brought under our notice. They are at all events a satisfactory indication that the action of this House and the representations which have been made by His Majesty's Government have not been without their effect. They include the issuing of orders to the local administration at Boma to make a detailed inquiry into the system of forced contributions...and the creation of a new office of Royal High Commissioner of the Congo who has been instructed to ensure the complete ...protection of the natives."

— Earl Percy, Conservative Under Secretary of the Foreign Office

"In stating the view of His Majesty's Government in regard to the position of affairs in the Congo...we have never claimed, nor do we claim now, any special responsibility, or any special right of intervention in the affairs of the Congo State."

—Earl Percy, Conservative Under Secretary of the Foreign Office

"The Congo Government...although, of course, they did not admit the truth of the allegations made in Mr. Casement's Report, they did not reject them in toto, but, on the contrary, recognized that they formed a strong case for inquiry, and intimated their intention to promote an investigation."

--Earl Percy, Conservative Under Secretary of the Foreign Office

"I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether an organized effort is being made by British subjects in South Africa and elsewhere to bring Belgian rule in the Congo into disrepute by the circulation of stories as to alleged atrocities and acts of maladministration; if so, whether such interference on the part of His Majesty's subjects in the affairs of a friendly State has the sanction of the Government; and, if not, what steps it is proposed to take to discourage such action in the future."

—Mr. John O'Dowd, Irish Nationalist MP

"I should like to ask [the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs] the following question...whether he considers His Majesty's Government to have any greater right to interfere in the affairs of the Congo Free State than it had to prevent the shooting in cold blood in Natal of two batches of unarmed prisoners, subjects of His Majesty, by His Majesty's troops, without trial by law...and whether he does not think His Majesty's Government has enough trouble on hand on the African continent, in connection with Egypt, Natal, and Nigeria, without going in search of further trouble in the territories of independent foreign states."

—Mr. Joseph Nolan, Irish Nationalist MP

LESSONS FROM HISTORY

Britain has adopted a philosophy of modern empire. The old model of imperialism held that the conquered people and their resources were to be used and abused for the good of the imperial power. The modern philosophy of imperialism contends that the role of the colonial power is to help the colonized people use their own resources in a more rational and efficient manner. In doing so, both the mother country and the colonial people benefit. Despite introducing modern medicine, Christianity, literacy, and the products of modern industry, the Congo Free State has sadly adopted the outdated and discredited model of imperialism in pursuit of rubber profits. The same system that destroyed the native peoples of the Americas in the 16th and 17th centuries is now destroying the Congolese. We can hold up our own administration of our African colonies as a model for King Leopold to imitate.

On the issue of forced labor, we anticipate that supporters of King Leopold might charge us with hypocrisy since we have used forced labor in our own colonies. However, we must make it clear that our forced labor was used only for a limited time and for the common good of the colonized people, not for the personal profit of private corporations. If the Congo Free State had conscripted labor solely for projects such as the construction of the railroad around the Congo River cataracts, critics would be hard to find. Instead, forced labor has become the full-time job of most of the population in vast areas of the Congo.

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING OPTION 3

1. Concerns about human rights abuses in the Congo are legitimate, but some of the proposed actions to solve them could be counter-productive to British interests.

2. The Congo Free State has accomplished some positive things amidst all of its abuses. The key is changing the balance so the positive outweigh the negative.

3. Whenever white Europeans try to rule over the non-white races of the world, there will be problems when the non-whites don't recognize the benefits of Western Civilization. The Mother Country must be vigilant in dealing with abuses carried out by its own agents so as to steadily demonstrate the blessings of Western Civilization.

4. The British Empire already has enough problems to deal with internally. We have no business telling other nations how to run their colonies when we are still having difficulties administering some of our own.

5. Concern about the preservation of free trade in the Congo is overblown. Our economic interests would be better served by tying the vast British colonies to the Mother Country more closely.

ARGUMENTS SUPPORTING OPTION 3

1. If we try to intervene forcefully in the Congo Free State, we risk setting a precedent that would encourage other nations to try to interfere in the administration of British colonies.

2. Our time and energy would be much more effectively used in developing the economies of our own colonies. Most especially, we want to pursue the possibility of building the Cape-to-Cairo railroad.

3. King Leopold can be persuaded to make reforms that will address the problems of the Congo. If we offer advice in a helpful manner and we encourage him to investigate the allegations of the Casement Report on his own, he will likely take actions to protect the natives from the abuses that have developed.

80

LOBBYING GROUPS IN BRIEF

CONGO REFORM ASSOCIATION

E.D. Morel and Roger Casement formed this organization to "enlighten systematically and continuously public opinion in this country, and abroad, upon the actual condition of the Congo people under the system of pillage and continuous extortion imposed on them by armed and ruthless force." The CRA organizes meetings and demonstrations, coordinates the placement of letters and articles in newspapers and magazines, provides MPs with accurate and up-to-date information, encourages eyewitnesses to speak out publicly, and publicizes the names of prominent public figures who support the cause. While primarily motivated by humanitarian concern, they strongly promote the concept that it is the exploitative nature of the economic system in the Free State that has created the conditions which allow the atrocities to continue.

LIVERPOOL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Liverpool is the major port city of Britain. It is home to a fleet of hundreds of ships and numerous companies that specialize in international trade. The largest share of the manufactured products from England's industrial heartland are exported through Liverpool. The Chamber of Commerce reflects the business interests of this city and lobbies on their behalf. In this case, their foremost concern is the preservation of free trade conditions that allow merchants and shippers from all nations to compete on an equal footing in the Congo. They seek to dismantle the system Leopold has established in the Congo Free State that gives Belgian companies and companies owned by Leopold himself monopoly control over resources coming out of most of the Congo. While primarily motivated by trade interests, most of these business leaders also express sincere disgust at the humanitarian abuses taking place.

SUPPORTERS OF KING LEOPOLD

This group is not a unified, easily identified force in Britain. Belgian associates of Leopold are carefully cultivating support of various types in Britain. It includes official representatives of the Congo Free State in Britain, a small number of journalists who are paid by Leopold to promote a point of view favorable to his cause, and representatives of a small number of businesses (including one Liverpool shipping company) that fear losing very profitable business contracts with the Congo Free State. Their main goal is to deflect criticism of the administration of the Free State in whatever way possible, including by questioning the motives of the reformers, interpreting historical information in ways favorable to Leopold, and offering evidence that contradicts that offered by the reformers.

Lobby Group

THE CONGO REFORM ASSOCIATION

The CRA was formed in 1904 by E.D. Morel, Roger Casement, and several others who felt that the evils being committed in the Congo were so extreme that they could only be ended by an organization that focussed solely on that cause. Members of the CRA come from all classes of British society, but certain groups in particular stand out. Many bishops of the Church of England (or Anglican Church) are prominent members, as are many of the Lord Mayors of Britain's major cities. Others include Members of Parliament from all political parties, well-known writers, and others known to much of the public. Many average citizens have also joined. The board of directors of the CRA also includes representatives from other organizations working on Congo reform, including the Aborigines Protection Society and the Baptist Missionary Society.

The CRA produces a magazine on a regular basis to publicize stories. The organization also coordinates large public meetings to keep people informed about progress and new attempts at forcing change. Members of the CRA regularly try to meet with MPs to convince them to keep the topic of Congo reform in the spotlight of the government and to make sure that these MPs will vote in ways that will help the cause. The CRA also remains alert for propaganda produced by Leopold's supporters and then tries to counter it with its own information.

The goal of the Congo Reform Association is to mobilize public opinion to pressure the British government into taking actions that would result in:

- The complete reversal of Leopold's system of government
- Abandonment of the rubber tax
- An end to the practice of forced labor
- Cancellation of all contracts that granted certain European companies monopolies over trade and resources in certain parts of the Free State
- Prosecution, public trial, and punishment of individuals guilty of atrocities against the natives
- Re-opening of the Congo to free trade with merchants from all nations and allowing the Congolese themselves to decide with whom they would do business

FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORD

"If others will not join her [England] she must act alone.... England used to play that part."
— *Sir Roger Casement*

"Our most earnest desire in this country is to work with France on the Congo question, and the most genuine wish exists amongst Englishmen that no international jealousies or misunderstandings should prevent the destruction, once and for all, of the Congo State as such."
— *E.D. Morel, in a letter to a French citizen*

"If Germany will back up England frankly, fully and loyally in this business, we shall get what we want. Germany will necessarily bring along Austria, Italy will follow, and America may be induced to act. France will then be left in a state of absolute isolation, which she would not like. The key of the situation is largely in the hands of your Government. Now it used to be said that Germany would follow eagerly in England's footsteps, if England led the way, but that Germany herself would not lead the way. Now that we have led the way I do sincerely trust Germany will follow."
— *E.D. Morel to a German government official*

"Tell them [the rubber agents] that we cannot and therefore will not find rubber; we are willing to spend

our strength at any work possible, but the rubber is finished. If we must either be massacred or bring rubber, well, let them kill us; then we suppose they will be satisfied."
— *Village headman to Reverend Harris, a British missionary*

"It is interesting to hear the Bongandanga people tell of the beginning of the rubber trade. How wonderful they thought it was that the white man should want rubber, and be willing to pay for it. How they almost fought for the baskets in order to pay for it. How they almost fought for the baskets in order to bring them in and obtain the offered riches. But they say, 'We did not know, we never understood what it would become in the future.' Now it is looked upon as the equivalent of death; they do not complain so much of want of payment, as that there is no rest from the work, and no end to it except death."
— *Mrs. Ruskin of the Congo Balolo Mission*

"Before the demands of bokukulu [the name used by natives to refer to employees of one of the Belgian rubber companies] we fled and abandoned the region of Impoko.... We were hunted by bokukulu and several men were killed. Bokukulu left and never returned. But at Ikelemba, the white "Ikabakaba"[a Free State official] arrived with other whites. Ikabakaba also demanded rubber, saying that he did not come to kill men, but to buy rubber. In exchange, we would receive cloth, beads, and bracelets. Instead, whippings were given out to those whose efforts were insufficient by an African rubber agent left here by the whites. He gave between fifty and one hundred blows to people."
— *Testimony of Lofumbwa Antoine, a teenaged resident of the village of Isaka*

"I am convinced that our principal concentration of effort should be in this country. At the present stage of world politics, the British people can get anything they want if they put their backs into it."
— *E.D. Morel*

Lobby Group

THE LIVERPOOL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Chambers of Commerce exist in all of the major cities and towns of Britain. Their job is to promote the business interests of the local area. That goal is often interpreted broadly. For instance, Chambers of Commerce might concern themselves with educational issues because they want workers who have certain types of skills. Sometimes they work on issues that are more directly related to business, such as tax rates. In the case of the Congo, the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce (LCC) sees some basic principles of interest, but it also has specific business concerns.

In terms of basic principles, the LCC supports the concept of free trade. Liverpool is a city that depends on trade to prosper. Its main assets are its huge port and dock facilities that handle millions of pounds of imports and exports yearly and the giant fleet of ships that call Liverpool their home port but carry products throughout the world. When free trade rights are restricted, imports and exports decline. Restrictions on free trade in the Congo Free State have had minimal impact on British commerce since very few British firms operate in the Congo. But this system has already spread to the French Congo, where we do have significant business, and could easily spread to other colonies operated by other countries. Britain has more to lose from trade restrictions than any other country, and Liverpool has more to lose than any other city in Britain. This trade is so important that the LCC has established a special African section to lobby the British Colonial Office on behalf of Liverpool's trade with African colonies.

The LCC believes that free trade is ennobling and gives people dignity and control over their own destinies. The members of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce don't see this just as a matter of self interest. The LCC truly believes that the natives of the Congo would benefit if they could own their own property, determine for whom they want to work, and decide for how much money they are willing to work.

While one Liverpool company has profited greatly from its Congo contracts, most members of the LCC recognize that these are profits gained from an unholy alliance. None will benefit in the long run from the spread of monopoly trading.

FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORD

"The Foreign Office assured the Manchester and Liverpool Chambers of Commerce that in any event freedom of trade would be retained ...the late Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs said 'the Congo State had entered into obligations towards us.'"

— *Sir Charles Dilke, Liberal MP*

"I will not dwell upon that side of the question relating to the French Congo, in which the trade of Liverpool was perhaps even more interested than that of the Free State. The commerce of this country...is sufficient to excite the envy of foreign nations, but the sufferings of those unfortunate natives appealed to something higher and nobler than that commercial instinct which had done so much to make England what she is."

— *Mr. Austin Taylor, MP from Liverpool*

"Nowhere so closely and with such great success as in French West Africa have our Governors and merchants imitated the practical methods and the liberal traditions of Great Britain in the matter of administration and colonial expansion. Must we now abandon those principles to return to the methods that more than anything else contributed to ruin the colonial power of Spain?"

— *Letter sent by French merchants to their colonial office when the Leopoldian system of restricted trade was introduced in the French Congo*

"British merchants had a right to claim that they should be permitted to trade freely on the Congo; and, not only merchants in England, but also merchants in British territories adjoining the Congo State. It should be remembered that the Congo State adjoined British territory at four separate points: in Northern Rhodesia, in British Central Africa, in Uganda, and in the Soudan. On all those frontiers trade is absolutely impossible between British subjects and the Congo Free State. That also gives this country a legitimate right to insist that this illegal system should be terminated."

— Sir Herbert Samuel, MP from Yorkshire

"When will people understand that the produce of the land is the black man's money? He has no other with which to buy the white man's goods.... So far as I am able to discover, my destiny arranged by Providence is to be a distributor of merchandise. Have I the capacity or mental qualifications for any other role? How can I voice the wrongs of those helpless millions, and by what means can I bring about their redemption? May God direct you and me in this matter."

— Letter from John Holt, member of Liverpool Chamber of Commerce and head of a Liverpool shipping firm, in a letter to E.D. Morel just prior to publicly speaking out on the Congo issue for the first time.

Lobby Group

Supporters of King Leopold

This group is not a unified, easily identified force in Britain. It includes official representatives of the Congo Free State, a small number of journalists who are paid by Leopold, and representatives of a small number of businesses that fear losing very profitable contracts with the Congo Free State. They deflect criticism of the administration of the Free State by any means possible using the following arguments:

> The hysterical propaganda of the Congo Reform Association and its supporters has distorted the truth. Without the truth, a fair debate of the issues is impossible. At best this has happened through ignorance of the facts, at worst this has been the result of a self-serving, hypocritical conspiracy.
>
> The Congo Free State has difficulties like any colony, but it is not a state built on terror. In fact, thanks to the enormous personal financial contributions of King Leopold, conditions are far better than they were before. Even Roger Casement, one of Leopold's chief critics, has acknowledged many of the positive accomplishments of the Congo. He reported that "...an establishment designed as a native hospital [is] in the charge of a European doctor. The open selling of slaves and the canoe convoys, which once navigated the Upper Congo, have everywhere disappeared."
>
> The Congolese had not improved the land before the arrival of the Europeans. Leopold is showing them how to profit from the land rather than just living off of what little nature has provided to them.
>
> Compulsory labor is a practice used throughout the colonial world, even in the colonies of Britain. This is used in place of taxes among people who have no currency with which to pay taxes. It is also used to teach Africans the value of hard work so they might someday advance to the level of development found in Europe. Compulsory labor is especially justified for the common good, particularly when the individuals will not work toward that common goal without some outside influence.
>
> In the case of the Congo Free State, the Congolese people have benefited from the construction of great railway lines around the river rapids to the coast. Before the railroad, porters needed to be recruited from the local population to carry burdensome loads in both directions over dangerous ground.
>
> On the issue of slavery: it existed long before Europeans arrived. The Free State has worked to end its practice, but it is a large territory. We have succeeded in ending the Swahili slave trade. King Leopold's hosting of the 1889 Brussels anti-slavery conference proved his sincere hatred of slavery, but he is working against superstition and tradition in the Congo. Also, unlike most colonies, the Free State has suppressed the trafficking of alcohol to prevent the weakening of the local people.
>
> The Berlin Act applies to the whole Congo Basin, not just the Congo Free State. Free trade has been violated in other sections of the basin, but that has not provoked the same sort of criticism. A double-standard is at work here. British criticism did not begin in earnest until the Congo Free State began to produce profits. Supporters of King Leopold suspect that this is a matter of jealousy among those who want a cut of the profits for themselves.

FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORD

"England may admit that she, more than any other nation, has been the object of attacks and accusations of every kind, and the list would be long of the campaigns which at various times, and even quite recently, have been directed against her colonial administration. Has she not been blamed in regard to the long insurrections in Sierra Leone: to the disturbed state of Nigeria, where quite recently, according to the English newspapers, military measures of repression cost, on one single occasion, the lives of 700 natives…and to the conflict in Somaliland which is being carried on at the cost of many lives, without however exciting expressions of regret in the House of Commons except on the score of the heavy expense!"

— *Memorandum from the Secretary-General of the Free State Government to the British Foreign Secretary, Sept. 17, 1903*

"The mutilation of corpses is an ancient custom and does not appear to the natives as the profanation which it is to us. The native will cut off parts of a dead body as a trophy or proof of his prowess…. It is not, therefore, surprising that the blacks enrolled in the Force Publique [the military of the Congo Free State] have not yet abandoned this incorrigible habit."

— *From the Independent Commission of Inquiry report—issued after the June debate*

"Considering the dislike of the native for work and his few wants, the exploitation of the domain under the law of supply and demand could not have lasted very long…. As the work of gathering became more difficult, the use of coercion was necessary to arouse the blacks from their apathy."

— *From the Independent Commission of Inquiry*

"The economic system which prevails in the State does not date from today. It was set up more than ten years ago, in the sight and to the knowledge of all Europe…without provoking…the least reserve from any of the signatory Powers of the Berlin Act.... If this system does not respect certain stipulations of the Berlin Act, why has England for more than ten years, preserved complete silence, absolute inaction?"

— *From Mouvement Geographique, a Belgian magazine*

"If Mr. Morel had some golden rule for making the negroes work voluntarily, he should not keep it secret…To speak the plain truth then, Mr. Morel is undeserving of serious notice. He has not even the good-faith of Mr. Fox Bourne, who attacks his own countrymen with as little discretion as he has attacked the Belgians. Thus, Mr. Fox Bourne fights for an idea which has always something of nobility about it, whereas Mr. Morel and his patrons want the control of the rubber trade which, as a motive, is contemptible."

— *From* The Congo State is NOT a Slave State *by Demetrius Boulger*

"It is worthy of remark that this campaign dates from the time when the prosperity of the State became assured…. As the State gave increased proof of vitality and progress, the campaign became more active, reliance being placed on a few individual and isolated cases, with a view to using the interests of humanity as a pretext, and concealing the real object of a covetousness which, in its impatience, has betrayed itself in the writings of pamphleteers and in the speeches of Members of the House of Commons, in which the abolition and partition of the Congo State has been clearly put forward."

— *From the Congo Free State's reply to the British note of August 8, 1903*

Epilogue: The Aftermath—1904 to the Present

While the debate of June 9, 1904, did not actually end with the passage of a resolution on the status of the Congo, it did have far-reaching consequences. The overall tone of the Parliamentary debate convinced the British government it must use its influence against the Congo Free State. The policies that followed over the next decade showed some elements of each of the three positions argued in Parliment.

Britain immediately suggested to the Congo Free State that it needed to appoint an independent commission to investigate the true conditions in the Congo. Leopold was truly frightened that he might lose control of his vast personal kingdom. To hold them off he needed to prove he was responding to concerns. He appointed the Independent Commission of Inquiry within six weeks of the Parliamentary debate.

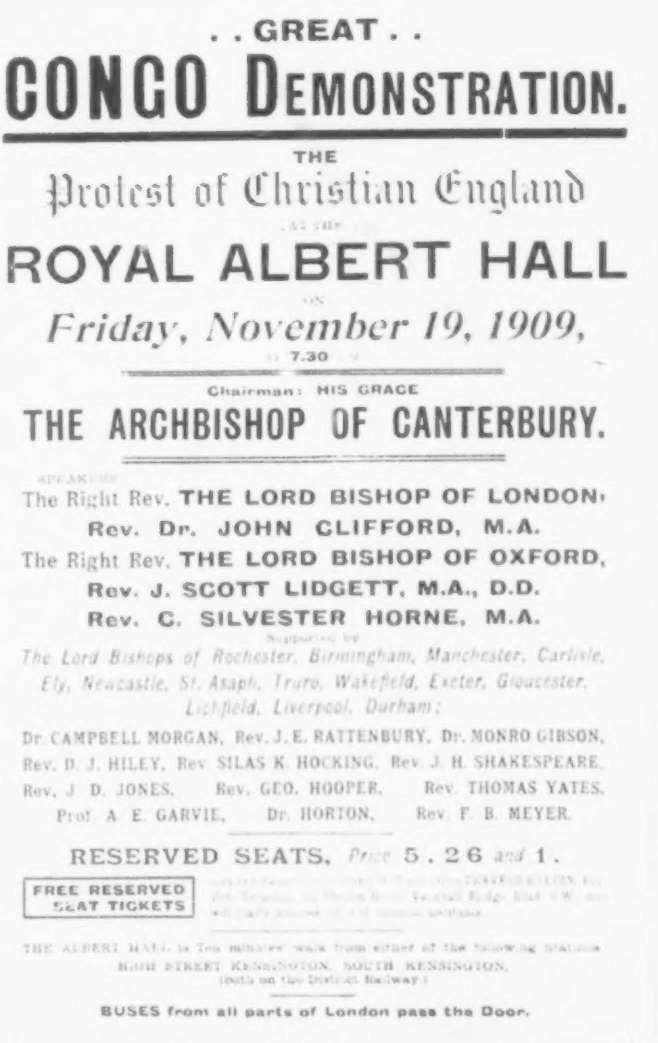
While he waited for his hand-picked Commissioners to finish their investigations, Leopold attempted to win over public opinion. He distributed pamphlets entitled "The Truth about the Congo" in bars and railroad cars throughout Europe to publish his version of events. Meanwhile, the Congo Reform Association continued its own work of organizing public informational meetings in Britain and abroad to counter Leopold's propaganda.

What were the results of Leopold's Independent Commission of Inquiry?

The members of the Independent Commission of Inquiry spent four and a half months in the Congo. Most observers had expected another piece of Leopold's propaganda. Although the report's contents were not nearly as harsh as those found in the Casement Report, most people were shocked that it even admitted the reality of many things mentioned by Casement.

The Casement Report had triggered many groups in Britain, mainland Europe, and North America to demand fundamental changes in the Congo, including taking its control out of the hands of Leopold. The Commission confirmed the necessity of reforms but suggested that Leopold himself could make reforms to protect the native peoples from excessive taxation and forced labor. It also urged stronger oversight of the Free State military to ensure that proper procedures were followed. It did not question the basic structure of the Free State.

The Independent Commission of Inquiry unintentionally unleashed many critics in Belgium who



. . GREAT . .

CONGO DEMONSTRATION.

THE

Protest of Christian England

AT THE

ROYAL ALBERT HALL

ON

Friday, November 19, 1909,

7.30

Chairman: HIS GRACE

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

SPEAKERS

The Right Rev. **THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,**
Rev. Dr. JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A.
The Right Rev. **THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD,**
Rev. J. SCOTT LIDGETT, M.A., D.D.
Rev. C. SILVESTER HORNE, M.A.

Supported by

The Lord Bishops of Rochester, Birmingham, Manchester, Carlisle, Ely, Newcastle, St. Asaph, Truro, Wakefield, Exeter, Gloucester, Lichfield, Liverpool, Durham;

Dr. CAMPBELL MORGAN, Rev. J. E. RATTENBURY, Dr. MONRO GIBSON, Rev. D. J. HILEY, Rev. SILAS K. HOCKING, Rev. J. H. SHAKESPEARE, Rev. J. D. JONES, Rev. GEO. HOOPER, Rev. THOMAS YATES, Prof. A. E. GARVIE, Dr. HORTON, Rev. F. B. MEYER.

RESERVED SEATS, *Price* 5 . 2 6 *and* 1 .

FREE RESERVED SEAT TICKETS [illegible]

THE ALBERT HALL is Ten minutes' walk from either of the following stations
HIGH STREET KENSINGTON, SOUTH KENSINGTON,
(both on the District Railway.)

BUSES from all parts of London pass the Door.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

had been kept silent over the prior decade. Leopold now faced a barrage of criticism at home and abroad. In an effort to appease his critics, Leopold tried to make symbolic changes while still making sizable profits from rubber. However, his critics kept the issue in the spotlight.

Popular support for the Congo Reform Association forced the British government to keep this issue a high priority. The Congo Reform Association believed that modest reforms could not solve the problem. Only a fundamental overhaul of the system could achieve that. They convinced the British government to pressure the Belgian government to take possession of the Congo from Leopold. They also worked with reformers in Belgium to lobby Belgian lawmakers to change their position.

How did the Congo Free State finally come to an end?

In 1908, Leopold gave in to the force of public pressure in Belgium and around the world. Those in Britain who had supported cooperation with other powers had succeeded in eroding Leopold's support among other European governments. Recognizing defeat, Leopold sold the Congo to the government of Belgium, making a large profit for himself in the deal.

Initially, the new government of the re-named Belgian Congo continued to use forced labor to harvest rubber, while making the modest changes initially proposed by Leopold. However, international pressure, particularly from Britain, forced Belgium to acknowledge that the system of forced labor, trade monopoly, and land confiscation would have to end.

It was not until 1913, two years after Belgium dismantled this system, that Britain finally recognized Belgian control over the Congo. Although some of the Great Powers had granted recognition earlier, the Belgian government knew that British recognition was essential for its control of the Congo to be viewed as legitimate in the eyes of the world.

The worst years were finally over. Twenty-three years after George Washington Williams' letter to King Leopold, concerned individuals and organizations had forced governments to act against Leopold's tyranny.

What was the "scramble for Africa?

Despite this humanitarian victory, the "scramble for Africa" by the Great Powers continued. By 1914, nearly all of Africa was under European control. This fierce competition for colonies was one of the causes of World War I.

> *"...it is probable that we have done more harm by promoting the partition of Africa and the creation, in the name of liberty, of such governments as that of the Congo Free State than the harm which our grandfathers did to Africa by their participation in African slavery and the slave trade."*
>
> *—Sir Charles Dilke*

Ironically it was Britain, the home of the Congo Reform Association, that took the largest piece of Africa for itself during the partition that Dilke condemned.

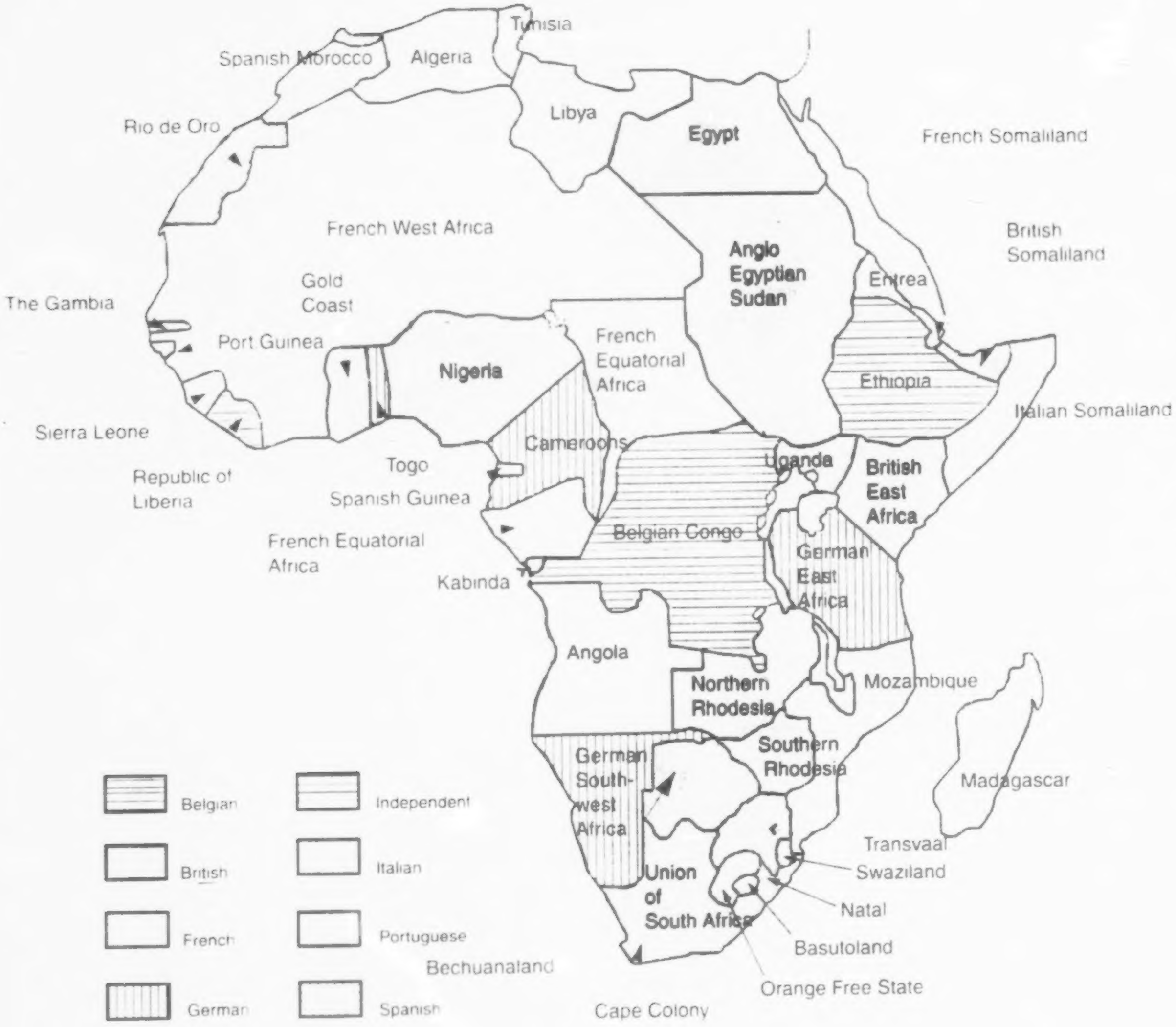
How did Belgium attempt to operate a "model colony?"

From 1911 until 1960 the Belgians operated what they liked to refer to as a "model colony." In some ways they tried to reverse the damages done by the prior years of abuse. But the damage ran so deep that reconstruction was very difficult. The Belgian colonizers also continued to create policies around the assumption that white European culture was preferable, even superior, to traditional African cultures. As a result, a tiny European elite controlled the economic and political power of the Belgian Congo while Africans continued to provide most of the labor for minimal profit.

In an attempt to reconstruct Congolese society, the Belgians tried to restore power to traditional chiefs. This reform, a disguise for indirect Belgian control, proved ineffective as most of the old chiefs were dead, and the economic and family relationships that had previously formed the basis of chiefly power had all been destroyed by the decades of abuse under the Free State.

In other reforms, the Belgians brought modern medicine to much of the population. By 1955, 80 per-

Colonial Powers in Africa
1914



cent of the people suffering from leprosy were receiving modern treatment and the spread of this disease was nearly stopped. Control of farmland was restored to villages, but land blessed with valuable mineral resources continued to be controlled by white-owned corporations. Perhaps most important to note, the Congolese, like most Africans of that time, could not control their own political destiny as decisions were made by colonial administrators.

What did the Congolese think of this "model colony"?

A widespread system of primary education ensured that many Congolese became literate, yet they were taught a curriculum that largely ignored values and stories that had been important to traditional cultures. The black students were taught to be thankful for what the Belgians saw as the blessings of civilization. At the same time, the history of the millions killed during the years of the rubber terror was ignored. While the government boasted of its attempts to bring prosperity and education to the black population, the 99 percent of the population that was black still could not eat in white restaurants, stay in white hotels, or live in white sectors of the capital city, Leopoldville. In short, the Belgian claim to be selflessly operating a "model colony" for the good of its native inhabitants was not the reality perceived by most Congolese.

On the eve of independence in 1960, 95 percent of the economic assets of the Belgian Congo were in the hands of the 110,000 whites who lived there (about one percent of the population).

What followed Belgian colonial rule?

Following World War II, the colonial empires began to unravel. The United States restored independence to the Philippines in 1946. Britain conceded independence to India and Pakistan in 1947, and then to its African colony of Ghana in 1957. Over the next decade 30 African countries became independent.

As of 1958, the Belgians were still assuming that they would continue to govern the Congo for years to come and that the Congolese would be happy to live in this "model colony." In January 1959, the citizens of Leopoldville expressed their disagreement with this assumption through protests and riots in the streets. In most British and French colonies some attempts, often criticized as inadequate, were made to prepare African leaders for the difficulties of running a newly-independent government, but the Belgians did no such thing. Instead, within one year of the protests Belgium hastily announced that independence would be granted. An election was planned quickly and, six months later, Patrice Lumumba became the new president of an independent Congo.

How was the hopefulness of the Independence era lost?

For centuries outsiders had manipulated one ethnic group against another in the Congo. Lumumba came to power on his appeal for unity among the more than 200 different ethnic groups.

Many of Lumumba's rivals had tried to win the election by appealing to the narrow interests of only a few of the largest ethnic groups, often at the expense of others. This strategy succeeded in sowing the seeds of a new conflict among the different peoples of the Congo and had consequences far beyond election day.

In this environment of disunity and hostility, civil war erupted soon after independence. Lumumba tried to establish a strong central government that served all of the Congo. Preferring a weak central government with more power for each ethnic group, Joseph Kasavubu, one of the losers in the election, established a government to rival that of Lumumba. Meanwhile, Moishe Tshombe, the leader of the mineral-rich province of Katanga, declared the secession of his region from the rest of the Congo.

What role did the Cold War play in the Congo?

Tshombe, supported by Belgian mining companies in the Congo, invited Belgian troops to help his own soldiers. Overwhelmed by this well-equipped army, Lumumba appealed to the United Nations for help. The UN Security Council demanded that the Belgian forces withdraw. UN peacekeepers were also sent in a failed attempt to prevent the civil war from spreading. Frustrated by the UN's failures, Lumumba turned to the Soviet Union for help—a move that angered the United States, the chief rival of the Soviets during the Cold War. The crisis culminated when Dag Hammarskjold, the Secretary General of the United Nations, died in a plane shot down over the Congo while on a mission to try to resolve the conflict.

Lumumba was labeled a communist by the United States, and overthrown and murdered by rival Congolese in a coup d'etat supported by the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). With Lumumba dead, a certain despair about the future began to set in. Kasavubu and Tshombe worked out an agreement by which Katanga Province received special rights under Kasavubu's government. After four years of non-stop turmoil, it appeared that a bloody peace had come to the Congo. However, a year later another coup d'etat removed Kasavubu and Tshombe from power, and Joseph Mobutu, with the support of the United States, established another new government over the Congo.

What was Mobutu's reign like?

Within only a few years of his ascent to power, it was clear that Mobutu would make a lasting impression on the country he had renamed Zaire. In an effort to reduce the legacy of colonialism, he also gave African names to cities and towns that had previously been known by their European names. Most notably, the country's capitol, Leopoldville, was renamed Kinshasa.

Mobutu's reign of 32 years is more noteworthy for its brutality, itd corruption, and the misery it brought to the people. Like King Leopold before him, he ruthlessly exploited the people and resources of the region to satisfy his greed.

> *"...agonizing situations...in which the thirst for money transforms men into assassins...and whoever holds a morsel of authority or means of pressure profits from it to impose on people and exploit them...how many children and adults die without medical care?...Why is it that in our courts justice can be got only by fat bribes to the judge?"*
>
> *—Archbishop Kavanga, 1976*

There are numerous examples of Mobutu's misrule. At independence in 1960 there were 88,000 miles of auto roads in the Congo. By 1985 only 12,000 miles were still passable to cars and trucks. At independence the country was able to feed itself. By the mid 1970s about 60 percent of the deaths in Zaire were blamed on malnutrition caused by Mobutu's economic policies that ignored all areas of the country that had no mineral resources. Making this situation worse, food grown in one part of the country could not be efficiently transported to other regions. As the economy crumbled, Zaire's government increasingly depended on outside aid.

While the poor majority of Zaire suffered, Mobutu took profits earned from diamond, copper, uranium, and oil exports to build mansions in Europe. Despite the widespread corruption, misery, and human rights abuses under Mobutu, the United States continued to support him throughout the Cold War period, because of his consistent anti-Soviet position.

What is the status of the Congo today?

In 1996, a new civil war ushered in a new chapter in the history of this long-suffering region. In a move echoing that of Tshombe, rebel leader Laurent Kabila declared his intent to lead a secession movement of the mineral-rich eastern provinces. After years of corrupt and cruel leadership, Mobutu had few friends to come to his aid. With the Cold War over, the United States had no need for staunch anti-communist allies and urged him to try to negotiate the end of the conflict with Kabila. Less than a year after fighting had begun, Mobutu fled the country in 1997. He died of cancer four months later.

Kabila assumed power over the country. Wishing to erase the influence of Mobutu, he re-named it the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Despite the name, democracy has yet to return to the region. Like Kasavubu before him, Kabila relied on support from just a few ethnic groups rather than from the country as a whole. New rivalries over the valuable natural resources emerged. Neighboring countries have been drawn into the ongoing fighting. Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Angola, and Zambia have all been involved in what has turned into Africa's most complicated war. The United Nations, the United States, Belgium, and South Africa have all taken turns trying to help the combatants reach a peace settlement.

Sadly, yet another generation of Congolese seems poised to grow up in an environment of poverty and violence. Nearly 500 years ago King Affonso of the Kongo people wrote that "Our kingdom is being lost in so many ways...and we cannot reckon how great the damage is." The same could be written of the modern Congo.

Personal Testimonies from the Congo

The following statements are taken from the Casement Report written by the British Consul Roger Casement and submitted to British Foreign Office and the British House of Commons in February 1904 There are also excerpts from those various individuals who traveled through, lived in, or interviewed people from the Congo Free State.

FROM THE CASEMENT REPORT

"They had endured such ill-treatment at the hands of the Government officials and soldiers that nothing had remained but to be killed for failure to bring in rubber or to die in their attempts to satisfy the demands."

— *The Casement Report*

"When the soldiers were sent to make us cut rubber there were so many killed we got tired of burying."

— *The Casement Report*

"A widow came and declared that she had been forced to sell her daughter, a little girl about ten...I found on returning that the statements made with regard to the girl were true...The girl had again changed hands and was promised in sale to a town whose people are open cannibals."

— *The Casement Report*

[After learning of this, Casement personally bought the child out of slavery and returned her to her mother.]

"Why do you catch the women and not the men?"
"If I caught the men who would work the rubber? But if I catch the wives...the rubber is brought in quickly."

— *The Casement Report*

"At a village I touched at up the Lulanga River...the people complained that there was no rubber left in their district, and yet that the La Lulanga Company required of them each fortnight[every two weeks]a fixed quantity they could not supply. Three forest guards of that company were quartered, it was said, in this village, one of whom I found on duty, the two others, he informed me, having gone to Mampoka to convoy the fortnight's rubber. No livestock of any kind could be seen or purchased in this town, which had only a few years ago been a large and populous community, filled with people and well stocked with sheep, goats, ducks and fowls. Although I walked through most of it, I could only count ten men, with their families. There were said to be others in the part of the town I did not visit, but the entire community I saw were living in wretched houses and in visible distress."

— *The Casement Report*

"The population of the lake-side towns would seem to have diminished within the last ten years by 60 or 70 percent. It was in 1893 that the effort to levy an Indiarubber imposition [tax] in this district was begun, and for some four or five years this imposition could only be collected at the cost of continual fighting. Finding the task of collecting indiarubber a well-nigh impossible one, the authorities abandoned it in this district, and the remaining inhabitants now deliver a weekly supply of foodstuffs for the up-keep of the military camp at Irebu, of the big coffee plantation at Bikoro."

— *The Casement Report*

"I ran away with two old people, but they were caught and killed, and the soldiers made me carry the baskets holding their cut-off hands. They killed my little sister, threw her in a house, and set it on fire."

— *R.R., a Congolese interviewed by Casement*

"I hid in a house with my little brother and sister. I heard guns fire. I took up my little sister and a big basket with native money in it, but had to leave the basket behind. My brother ran away. I tried to make my sister walk, but she was tired, and could not run through weakness. The soldiers took us, saying: 'We might keep them both. The little one is not bad looking.' But others said: 'No, we must kill the younger girl.' They put a knife through her stomach, left the body lying there. They also caught an old woman, cut her throat, divided her, ate her. They cut off the hands of those they had kill, and spread them out in a row for the District Commissioner to see...My mother was killed too."

— S.S., a Congolese interviewed by Casement

"We had to go further and further into the forest to find the rubber vines, to go without food, and our women had to give up cultivating the fields and gardens. Then we starved. Wild beasts—leopards—killed some of us when we were working away in the forest, and others got lost or died from exposure and starvation, and we begged the white man to leave us alone, saying that we could get no more rubber, but the white men and their soldiers said: 'Go! You are only beasts yourselves.'"

— A refugee from the rubber-producing regions, interviewed by Casement

"As we fled, the soldiers killed ten children, in the water. They killed a lot of adults, cut off their hands, put them in baskets, and took them to the white man, who counted 200 hands.... One day, soldiers struck a child with a gun-butt, cut off its head, and killed my sister and cut off her head, hands and feet because she had on rings."

— U.U., a Congolese interviewed by Casement

"Their chiefs are being weakened in their prestige and physique through imprisonment, which is often cruel, and thus weakened in their authority over their own people, they are put into chains for the shortage of manioc bread."

— Rev. Whitehead, a missionary at Lukolela, interviewed by Casement

"In the past they escaped in large numbers to the French territory, but many were prevented by force from doing this, and numbers were shot in the attempt."

— The Casement Report

OTHER OFFICIAL BRITISH GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

"A sentry on the Congo is a dare-devil aboriginal chosen from troops impressed outside the district in which he serves, for his loyalty and force of character. Armed with a rifle and pouch of cartridges he is located in a native village to see that the labour for which its inhabitants are responsible is duly attended to. If they are india rubber collectors, his duty is to send the men into the forest and take note of those who do not return with the proper quantity. When food is the tax demanded, his business is to make sure that the women prepare and deliver it."

— W. Clayton Pickersgill, British Consul in the Congo in 1898

"When they could do so, the natives fled to the territories governed by other Powers. Monsieur de Lamotte, the Governor of the French Congo, said in his evidence before a Commission on Colonial Concessions held in Paris in 1900, '...the agents of the Abir [one of the great rubber companies] have used their powers to such effect that they have succeeded in inducing 30,000 natives to leave their territory and take refuge on the French bank of the Congo.'"

— Robert Codrington, the Administrator of North Eastern Rhodesia

FROM OTHER SOURCES

"Last week I returned from spending eight days in the Bokongo, Bongondo and other towns below this, our station at Monsembe, and while there I learned of the killing by Mabata [the native name of a Belgian officer] and his soldiers of twenty-two men and women. And what was the crime of which these unfortunate folk were guilty? They were behind in their taxes, and owed the State between them a few goats."

— John Weeks, a British missionary

"The cutting off of hands, I do not know from whom the order emanates. But this I know. There are victims who have survived the cruelty in every district, in some more than others. I know White men who have seen the baskets of hands being carried to the central State Station and others have told me of the hands being put in a line or lines. State soldiers themselves give as their reasons for this barbarous deed that '...they have to account for the use of the cartridges in this way.'"

—*John Weeks, a British missionary*

"Mr. Sheppard (an American missionary) saw along the way several burnt villages, also some wounded persons. He reached the well-arranged stockade, and was received in a friendly way by Mlumba Nkusa and his 500 or more followers. Inside the stockade Mr. Sheppard counted eighty-one human hands slowly drying over a fire. Outside the stockade he counted more than two score bodies piled in a heap.... Mr. Sheppard also saw several Albini rifles and a pistol, with cartridges—all of which natives are forbidden to have. Mlumba Nkasa said plainly that he had been sent by the State officer at Luluaburg, and that he had already dispatched him sixteen slaves."

—*Mr. William Morrison, from the American Baptist Mission*

"During the months of June, July and August of last year we had at Luebo...another reign of terror. A new officer, named Deschamps, had just come into power at Luluaburg. During my absence he came to Luebo, and there, without a warning to the chiefs or villagers, sent out his soldiers to catch men by force wherever they could be found. The people fled at once to the forest for safety.... I made complaint to the authorities about the matter and demanded protection for the natives and urged that none be taken by force. This Monsieur Duces promised...within a few days, however, he received imperative orders from his chief, Deschamps. Consequently he began catching the people by force. They fled to the forests for safety...the soldiers scoured the woods in search of men. They succeeded in catching about eighteen or twenty, and these I saw taken away under guard, tied about the neck with ropes.

This whole affair I reported to the Native Protection Commission appointed by the King some years ago...asking it to see that the natives were protected in their rights. The only answer I received was that the State established forced labor by law, and that doubtless the officers were acting entirely within their powers."

—*Mr. William Morrison, from the American Baptist Mission*

"[I] saw a native sentry beating and loudly abusing a poor woman who was crossing the station with a basket on her back. On investigating the cause of the disturbance [I] found that the basket was full of hands which had been cut off in one of the rubber palaver, and that instead of nineteen hands only eighteen could be found, the woman having dropped one en route. [I] counted the smoked hands, and found some of them to belong to children, others to women, and to men. Many of the victims were relations of the poor creature who wasbearing the basket to the local agent."

—*Mrs. Banks, a missionary*

"I am not afraid of what the State may do to me personally, but I fear that some officers might try and worry me through the people with whom I work—hence my reticence in appealing in any of these matters."

—*An anonymous missionary explaining why he would not speak out*

"In the daytime they (the women) do all the usual station work, such as carrying water for the Government officials, cleaning their rooms, etc., etc., and during the night they are obliged to be at the disposal of the soldiers. The soldier must live with the woman as long as he is at the station; should he be removed, the woman must remain at the station whether she has children by him or not. The women are slaves captured by the Government soldiers when raiding the country, they are there to facilitate the ordinary requirements of labor, and to prevent the soldiers from their usual customs of raping in the native villages."

—*Mr. Yule, a missionary*

"I remember my mother, the people in our village, but have forgotten its name. When we were transported to Lukafu we were fastened together by a rope round our necks, and at night-time our hands and feet were tied together to prevent us from escaping. At Lukafu the elder women were forced at first by the soldiers to sleep in their huts until Commandant Kasiera prohibited this. At M'pwetu I witnessed the killing of two natives who had stolen rubber from the Government stores. By the order of the white man called Lutina, the two natives were beaten by his soldiers with a hippo-hide whip, after this they were made to stand up, the soldiers then threw bricks on them till they died. One native was from Chewerchewera's village, very near M'pwetu, and was buried by his relations; the other, who had no relations so near, was thrown into the Lake Mweru."

— Chewema, a member of the Mahusi tribe

"On our arrival in the Congo Free State we learnt from the inhabitants and the Government soldiers that there is always war between the white men, the soldiers and the natives. The reason of a war and the constant troubles are as follows:

Long ago the Belgian officials hanged the soldiers for their bad behavior. They hanged so many that this created a vengeance to such an extent that all soldiers formed a ring under the headman…with the object to kill all officers at the different stations on or near the Lake Tanganyika. This they did and took all the guns and ammunition. They then formed a stockade and made Yankoffu their chief. Later on they were attacked by a strong force of the Belgians, also we under Mr. Mohun attacked them, we killed many people but could not get Yankoffu. Most of his people crossed the lake to German territory taking with them the captured guns and ammunition. After this other Belgian officers re-occupied the plundered stations, but from that time the officers became afraid of the soldiers. When we were there one officer of Marabu station, about ten days from Lake Tanganyika, thrashed a soldier with a hippo-hide whip. Sometime later the…soldier shot him dead. We…were given orders to catch the murderer, we went after him for many days but could not find him. The white men are so afraid of the soldiers that they let them do whatever they like, they rape, murder and steal everything of the inhabitants, and if the chief or villagers object they are often shot dead on the spot. The officers all know this, but they never take any notice of it as they are afraid to punish the soldiers."

— John & Johan, two African men recruited from British Central Africa to serve as soldiers during the construction of a telegraph line in the Congo Free State

"They often kill the Congolese for the sake of rubber. Once, a soldier, pointing to a basket, said to me: 'look, only two hands! That's nothing. A few days ago I brought the white man 160 hands and they were thrown in the river.' As he spoke I saw the horrible sight of dead bodies hanging down from the branches into the water."

— Edvard Sjoblom, a Swedish missionary

"The further away from publicity the greater the atrocities, such as the employment of fierce cannibal soldiers that terrorize the people; the shooting down of 20 male Congolese to pay for a lost dog; the forcing of Congolese to drink from latrines; the shooting down of handcuffed blacks."

— Mr. Kirby, an American missionary

"In stations in the charge of white government officers, one sees strings of poor emaciated old women, some mere skeletons, working in gangs, with a rope round their necks and connected with a rope 1 1/2 yards apart…thousands of Congolese have been slaughtered in Equateur. Twenty one severed heads, brought to Captain Rom, were used by him as decoration round the front of his house."

— An anonymous missionary

"Tell them [the rubber agents] that we cannot and therefore will not find rubber; we are willing to spend our strength at any work possible, but the rubber is finished. If we must either be massacred or bring rubber, well, let them kill us; then we suppose they will be satisfied."

— Village headman to Reverend Harris, a British missionary

"I myself saw a man at Likange who had had both his hands cut off. Sometimes they cut them at the wrist, sometimes farther up…with a machete. Also there was Muboma…who has a long scar across the back of his neck. There is another man called Botei at Inanga with the same sort of scar, where they wounded him maliciously, expecting him to die. They didn't cut his head off, they didn't get to the bone, but expected him to bleed to death. It was sheer cruelty; the State treated us abominably."

—*Testimony by a Congolese given to Rev. A.E. Schrivener*

Individuals of Conscience: David Livingstone (1813-1873)

Americans know David Livingstone's name first and foremost through the phrase "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?" Those well-known words came from the mouth of another famous explorer, Henry Stanley, at the end of a much-publicized journey into the interior of Africa. His goal was to confirm or refute the rumors that the beloved Livingstone, the most famous explorer of the 19th century, had been killed. The reputation of Livingstone was so strong in Europe that for nearly a hundred years after he had started his missionary and exploratory work in Africa, other explorers, missionaries, and others with less noble goals, invoked his name to support their causes. While he clearly lived a life dedicated to helping others, his legacies are a bit more controversial.

As a young man he joined the London Missionary Society with a desire to study medicine. Soon he was ordained as a minister, and in 1841 he set off on a journey through southern Africa, a journey that would change his life, and that of millions of Africans and Europeans as well. He spent most of the next 32 years in Africa, returning to Europe from time to time to describe his discoveries and rally support for his causes.

What were those causes? He had set out originally to spread the message of Christianity and to bring modern European medicine to tropical Africa. Over time, his concerns evolved. He dreamed of finding an "open path" to help heal "the open sore of the world." The open sore was the slave trade that he found still thriving in the interior and on the east coast of Africa. His explorations led him to some of the most remarkable geographic discoveries of the century. When Livingstone began his work, European maps showed most of the interior of Africa as a large, blank area whose features were known only to the African people themselves. Livingstone hoped he could discover a way to easily reach the interior with what he saw as the saving graces of European civilization.

He became the first white man to cross the continent from coast to coast, he was the first European to lay eyes on the famous Victoria Falls and Lakes Nyasa and Ngami and the River Lualaba. But what he sought most of all was the source of the Nile River, for he felt once that was found, the Nile could serve as the pathway to bring European civilization into the heart of Africa. While he failed to achieve his greatest goal, he did in fact find one of the major sources of the Congo River, although he died without fully understanding the significance of what turned out to be one of his greatest discoveries.

Sharing a belief common to many of his British compatriots at the time, Livingstone felt that the extension of European trade networks to the interior of Africa would be the key to replacing the slave trade. He wrote that it would be "extremely desirous to promote the preparation of raw materials of European manufacture in Africa, for by that means we may not only put a stop to the slave trade but introduce the Negro family into the body of corporate nations, no member of which can suffer without others suffering with it." While he meant it quite sincerely, similar language would later be used by King Leopold and others to justify the exploitation and abuse of the Congo.

During his time living among the various peoples of Southern, East and Central Africa, Livingstone developed a reputation as a gentle, caring, almost saint-like man. If at times he might be criticized for playing the role of a condescending father-figure, he is also recognized for trying to protect his "adopted" peoples from the various forces, European, African, or Arab, that sought to harm them. He began to see his mission as less one of preaching Christianity to the African people and more a matter of preaching to the people of Europe about the urgency of working to end the slave trade once and for all. It is for this that he is perhaps most warmly remembered.

Livingstone believed he must treat the African people with respect if he was to win them over to his message. Even when cheated by his own African servants, he refused to punish them. When he encountered Swahili slave-trading caravans he was overcome with feelings of revulsion. Stanley described him as "being almost Christ-like for goodness, patience…and self-sacrifice." It was thanks to these qualities that when he died in 1873 a small group of his African followers, many of them slaves he had helped free, risked their own lives to insure that his body would be well preserved. They personally embalmed the corpse of their dead hero and carried him through hostile territory 1500 miles from the interior of Zambia to the Indian Ocean island of Zanzibar. From there, the body was accompanied by Jacob Wainwright, one of his African servants, all the way back to England to receive a hero's burial in Westminster Abbey.

His body might be buried, but his spirit lived on. His call for Commerce, Christianity and Civilization (the 3 Cs), to put an end to the African slave trade was to echo through the European debate on Africa for the next several decades. The French explorer Pierre de Brazza would adapt these same ideals to the French colonizing mission while adopting Livingstone's same gentle manner. Meanwhile, Henry Stanley would write "May I be selected to succeed him in opening up Africa to the shining light of Christianity! My methods, however, will not be Livingstone's…His, I think, had its defects…the selfish and wooden-headed world requires mastering." It was this desire to "master" the African continent and its peoples that characterized Stanley's exploration of the Congo River basin as he built upon his role model's discovery of the source of that great river.

In an equally fateful occurrence, Livingstone's writings about the fabled gold and copper wealth of the Katanga region provided King Leopold with the motivation to subdue and exploit that vast region using violent methods that would have horrified the dead hero. Livingstone had envisioned the Africans trading with the Europeans in dignity and the Europeans using this trade as a way of showing the best aspects of their own civilization while providing a substitute for the slave trade. Instead, a humiliating new form of European-inspired slavery developed for the sake of enriching a small group of investors and one king back home in Belgium. They had listened to his plea that he had made in 1857 to an audience at Cambridge University "I beg to direct your attention to Africa…which is now open: do not let it be shut again!…Make an open path for commerce and Christianity…carry out the work which I have begun," but the results were hardly what Livingstone had in mind.

Individuals of Conscience: Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza (1852-1905)

Looking back from the perspective of the 21st century it is easy to criticize the actions of the Europeans who helped the colonizing countries in their efforts to deprive the Africans of their independence. However, it is important to make distinctions among the various explorers and administrators. The methods, actions and attitudes of these men varied greatly, with some being far more unsavory than others. Pierre de Brazza stands out as one of the most principled and caring of the colonizers, a fact that becomes particularly clear when he is contrasted with his archrival, Henry Stanley. While Stanley thought nothing of intimidating the Africans with frequent use of modern European weaponry, Brazza, in the words of historian Thomas Pakenham, "wanted to win confidence, inspire trust, even love...Still more unusual among explorers, apart from Livingstone, he felt a real liking for Africans." On more than one occasion he bought slaves only to set them free.

Born in Italy but educated in France, Brazza joined the French navy at a young age. By the time he was 23 years old, he was leading an exploratory trip to the Central African region of Gabon in search of a water route into the interior of the continent along the Rivers Ogowe and Alima. At exactly the same time, Stanley was making his famous voyage from the Indian to Atlantic Oceans through Central Africa. While Stanley was being criticized by other explorers for the pride he took in "plundering villages" and "shooting natives," Brazza would take days negotiating with local chiefs to ensure the safe passage of his expedition. Both men were pursuing the same prizes: knowledge of how to access the vast Congo interior and treaties that would grant them preferential trade in that region. Each proceeded without knowing the whereabouts of the other.

Ultimately, Brazza won the first big prize. In 1880 he reached the top of the Congo River cataracts at Malebo Pool (later to be known as Stanley Pool) and negotiated a treaty with King Makoko of the Tk people. In his characteristic dramatic fashion, he approached the king in his best dress clothing and, after much discussion with the king, jumped up with rifle cartridges in one hand and cloth for trade in the other. He said to Makoko "White men have two hands. The stronger hand is the hand of war. The other hand is the hand of trade. Which hand do (your people) want?" The people replied in unison: "trade," at which point Brazza buried the cartridges, planted a tree over them and said "may there never be war again until this tree bears a crop of cartridges." King Makoko placed himself under French protection and gave France trade rights along the whole north coast of the pool in the river that provided the gateway to the entire navigable network of rivers to the interior.

Through these mostly peaceful methods, Brazza came to be known as "the great white father" by many of the Africans he met. Brazza's success infuriated Stanley, but intrigued King Leopold who secretly tried to hire him. Brazza, initially a fan of King Leopold, had become suspicious of Leopold's motives and declined the offer. Instead, unlike most explorers, Brazza settled into the mundane work of administering the territories he had won for his adopted country. He held the post of General Commissioner of the Moyen Congo (later known as French Congo, today the Congo Republic) from 1884 to 1898, the same years that the King Leopold's forced labor system of the Congo Free State was developing along the opposite bank of the Congo River. By 1898, colonial administrators in Paris were questioning why vast profits were being accumulated by the colony across the river while their own colony struggled financially. They sought to solve the problem by adopting the same laws and practices found in the Free State. Brazza objected that this not only was immoral, but that it would squander the warm feelings that the local people felt for the French. Greed overruled his concerns and he was forced into retirement so that a more "cooperative" Commissioner could be installed.

Finally, in 1905, at the height of the international movement to force reform in the Congo Free State, the French public had become aware of the fact that their own government was responsible for the same kinds of horrors as those criticized in the Free State. Many of the refugees who had fled to the French Congo to escape Leopold's regime later fled back to the Free State to escape the French. The French people reacted with outrage and the government was struck with panic. Knowing that he still was widely respected and admired for his integrity, they called Pierre de Brazza out of retirement to conduct an investigation. The French government sent orders to its colonial administrators to eliminate any signs of abuse in areas where Brazza might visit, but they didn't predict how seriously he would take his job. Despite poor health, he voyaged far from the main routes to uncover the truth. His biographer, Felicien Challaye, said he "felt a great personal responsibility weighing upon him" since it was because of him that these millions of Africans had accepted the French "protection" that was now killing them.

The French government tried to persuade him to suppress the worst details of his findings, but Brazza would have nothing of it. Instead he chronicled every abuse in great detail, just as Roger Casement had on the other side of the river. As he headed for home, he was determined to make an appeal directly to the hearts of the French people in hopes of forcing the government to change its ways. Instead, he fell ill and died in the French colony of Senegal. Challaye, with him in his last days, wrote, "The fate of the Congo troubles him more than his own. When he has the strength to talk it is of the Congo that he speaks...he suffered to find it in a truly lamentable condition.... From these sinister discoveries Monsieur de Brazza suffered in the deepest recesses of his soul. They hastened his end."

While Europeans were responsible for killing hundreds of thousands of Africans in the Congo, this European sacrificed his own life to try to protect them. Like Stanley, he saw himself as the heir to the legacy of David Livingstone, but only Brazza stayed true to Livingstone's humanitarian ideals to the end. It is therefore not surprising that, upon independence in the 20th century, the capital city of Leopoldville quickly changed its name to Kinshasa, while Brazzaville retained its name as the capital of the Congo Republic. His life accomplishments left memories that Africans and Europeans could both celebrate.

Individuals of Conscience: George Washington Williams (1849 —1891)

George Washington Williams played an unusual role in the story of the Congo Free State. He stands out as one of the first people to sound the alarm bells about problems in the Congo. By any measure he led a remarkable life. It is all the more fascinating considering his identity as an African-American living before, during, and after the Civil War. He traveled personally to the Congo and developed relationships with three U.S. Presidents, as well as with King Leopold.

At a time when the majority of blacks in America still lived in slavery, he was born a free man in Pennsylvania. In 1864, at the age of 15, he lied about his age in order to join the U.S. Army and fight in the Civil War. Following his successful service in the U.S. Army, he crossed into Mexico and was given the rank of Lieutenant in the Mexican Army, fighting to preserve the republic against the Emperor Maximilian. By age 19 he had re-enlisted in the U.S. Army, served in Indian Territory, and re-joined civilian life in Missouri. Soon thereafter he was licensed as a Baptist minister.

After briefly living in Washington D.C., he moved to Massachusetts to enroll in the Newton Theological Institution. There he completed a rigorous three-year program in only two years, much to the surprise of all considering he was one of only three graduates who had begun the program without a college education. From these beginnings, he went on to practice as a pastor, work as an editor and a columnist for several black newspapers, practice law in Ohio and Massachusetts, and serve as the first black man elected to the Ohio House of Representatives in 1880.

Continuing his political career, President Arthur appointed Williams as ambassador to Haiti. Unfortunately, a complicated political dispute led to him never being allowed to travel to Haiti to serve in this capacity. In the midst of this busy political career, he had written and published *The History of the Negro Race in America*, the first comprehensive book about the African-American experience. Other influential black writers such as Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois cited this book as being crucial to their own writings, and it was for this as well as his many other writings that he became, in 1971, one of the first six people inducted into the Hall of Fame of the Black Academy of Arts and Letters.

Concerning the story of the Congo, his life is full of ironic twists and turns. He was one of the first people to write to the U.S. Senate in support of recognition of the Congo Free State as a legitimate government. The U.S. subsequently became the first nation to do so, a fact that many Americans, including Williams, would later regret. He believed King Leopold's claims that he was interested in the Congo for humanitarian reasons. Slavery still existed in the Congo among the local peoples and in the form of the Arab slave trade on the east coast of Africa. Leopold claimed to want to end this slavery. After interviewing Leopold on a visit to Belgium in 1889 for an anti-slavery conference, Williams concluded that he was "one of the noblest sovereigns of the world…whose highest ambition is to serve the cause of Christian civilization…ruling in wisdom, mercy and justice."

While Williams still held this hopeful view of Leopold's Congo, he promoted the idea of recruiting educated American blacks to help develop the Congo. A Belgian company responded enthusiastically to this idea and contracted with him to hire 24 black engineers, technicians and clerks to test the idea. Williams found many of his fellow African-Americans intrigued, but none ready to make the commitment without more information about life in the Congo. It was to gather information for this project that Williams embarked on the African journey that would change the course of history.

Within days of landing in the Congo in 1890, Williams understood why Leopold had tried to stop him from making this voyage. He immediately saw that the Belgian king's claims to have established hospitals for the local population amounted to little more than three huts where sick people could go to die. Despite poor health, limited money, and his fear that

Leopold's agents would try to kill him, Williams began the long, difficult journey into the interior of the country. When he emerged months later, "disenchanted, disappointed and disheartened," he had seen enough evidence of wrong-doing to not only make him abandon his earlier enthusiasm, but to lead him to dedicate much of the rest of his life to trying to create change.

Recalling Williams' previous careers and his ambitions to be accepted by the political, social and economic elite of the U.S. and Europe, his behavior upon leaving the Congo is particularly noteworthy. It ensured that he would lose many influential supporters. He wrote a scathing letter to his former friend, King Leopold, and arranged to have this letter shared publicly. In it, he denounced the deceptive tactics used by the famous explorer, Henry Stanley, to secure unfair treaties with the local chiefs. He also stated that the popular Stanley should no longer be seen as a hero, but rather as a man who committed countless cruelties. He accused Leopold's government of complete hypocrisy. While Leopold's government worked to abolish the Arab slave trade, it created a whole new slave trade of hideous proportions. He revealed that white military officers often shot villagers for sport, kidnapped African women to use for sex, and arrested men for the slightest of charges to be able to use their labor. He showed himself to be far ahead of his time in calling for a new government for the Congo that would be "local, not European," a concept that even the most radical reformers of the next decade would not embrace.

This was the first real challenge to Leopold's personal control of the Congo, and it was made all the more serious by the fact that Williams also wrote to U.S. President Harrison asking the U.S. government to take action. In doing so, he recognized that his own previous support for the Congo Free State was flawed. Leopold began frantically to prepare his defense and began to circulate countless rumors about Williams' own personal life. These rumor were meant to weaken his credibility in the eyes of the public.

Williams died of health complications in Blackpool, England, in August 1891, just over a year after he composed his letter to Leopold. Joseph Conrad, author of *Heart of Darkness*, a novella about the Congo, Roger Casement, later founder of the Congo Reform Association, and the British missionary George Grenfell were all in the Congo at the same time as Williams. All would later become associated with the reform movement, but only Williams spoke up at this early date. It would be roughly a decade before anyone else would pick up where he had left off. In the meantime, millions of Congolese would suffer.

Author Adam Hochschild testifies to the bravery of this man whose life was remarkable in so many ways when he writes that "by the time he went to the Congo in 1890, close to a thousand Europeans and Americans had visited the territory or worked there. Williams was the only one to speak out fully and passionately and repeatedly about what others denied or ignored. The years to come would make his words ever more prophetic."

103

Order Form

	Classroom Sets* (15+ copies)	Single Units*	Quantity	Subtotal
Global Challenges				
Considering the U.S. Role: The International System in the 21st Century (1st edition-June 1999)	$7 each	$15		
U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World (8th edition-January 1999)	$7 each	$15		
Global Environmental Problems: Implications for U.S. Policy (9th edition-June 2000)	$7 each	$15		
Help, Handout, or Hindrance: U.S. Support for the Developing World (3rd edition-October 1998)	$7 each	$15		
U.S. Trade Policy: Competing in a Global Economy (7th edition-February 2000)	$7 each	$15		
Keeping the Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role (8th edition-November 2000)	$7 each	$15		
Areas in Transition				
Shifting Sands: Balancing U.S. Interests in the Middle East (3rd edition-October 2000)	$7 each	$15		
Caught between Two Worlds: Mexico at the Crossroads (3rd edition-January 1999)	$7 each	$15		
Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era (7th edition-August 2000)	$7 each	$15		
Russia's Uncertain Transition: Challenges for U.S. Policy (4th edition-September 2000)	$7 each	$15		
China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response (5th edition-November 2000)	$7 each	$15		
Historical Turning Points				
A More Perfect Union: Shaping American Government (3rd edition)	$7 each	$15		
Challenges to the New Republic: Prelude to the War of 1812 (1st edition)	$7 each	$15		
Reluctant Colossus: America Enters the Age of Imperialism (2nd edition)	$7 each	$15		
Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: The Colonial Experience in the Congo (1st edition)	$7 each	$15		
Crisis, Conscience, and Choices: Weimar Germany and the Rise of Hitler (3rd edition)	$7 each	$15		
Ending the War against Japan: Science, Morality, and the Atomic Bomb (2nd edition)	$7 each	$15		
Coming to Terms with Power: U.S. Choices after World War II (3rd edition)	$7 each	$15		
In the Shadow of the Cold War: The Caribbean and Central America in U.S. Foreign Policy (5th edition)	$7 each	$15		
The Limits of Power: The United States in Vietnam (4th edition)	$7 each	$15		

*Choices gives you a choice

***Single units** are designed to be photocopied. For $15, you receive a reproducible student text and a teacher's resource book. You are welcome to make as many copies as you need. You may also **download units** at www.choices.edu for $8 each.*

***Classroom sets** of student texts (15 or more of the same unit) the price per copy falls to $7. A teacher's resource book is included free with each classroom set.*

Subtotal ______

add 7% for shipping and handling ______

TOTAL ______

Make checks payable to: Brown University

Return to: Choices Education Project
Watson Institute for International Studies
Brown University, Box 1948
Providence, RI 02912

Name ______________________

Course title(s) ______________________

School/Org. ______________________

Street ______________________

City/State ______________________ Zip ______________

For more information or to place an online order, visit www.choices.edu, or call (401) 863-3155.

Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: Colonialism in the Congo engages students in an examination of the effects of colonialism in the Congo. The unit helps them to understand the impact on indigenous people and the debate that grew in Europe about widespread abuses by the colonial authorities.

Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: Colonialism in the Congo is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

Choices for the 21st Century Education Project
Watson Institute for International Studies
Box 1948, Brown University
Providence, RI 02912

http://www.choices.edu